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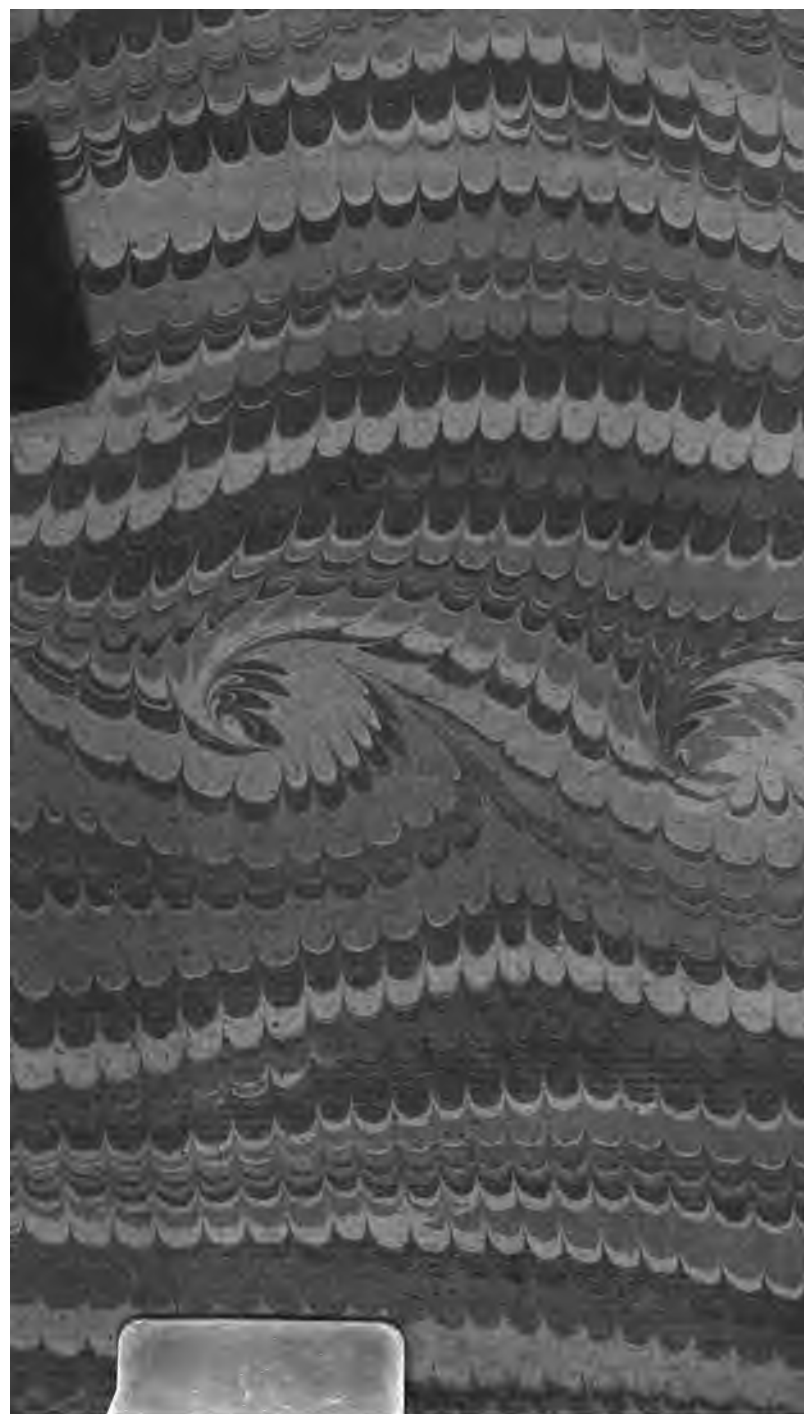
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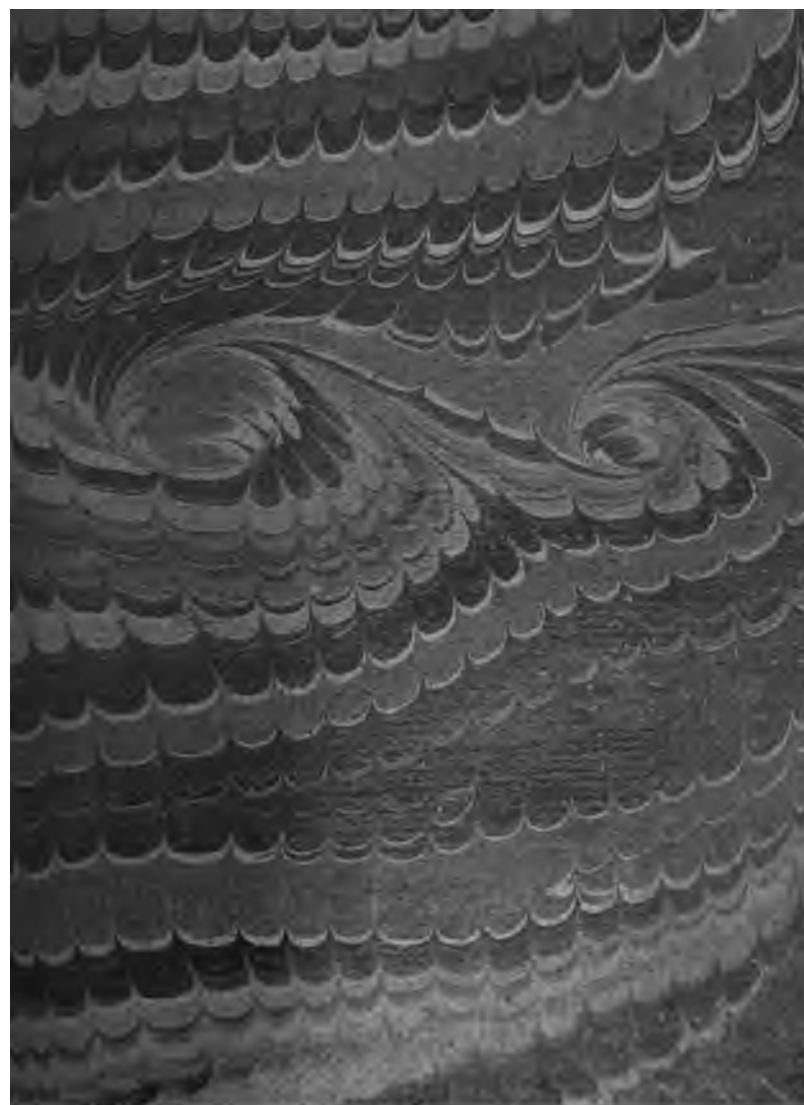
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3254





AN
Impartial Representation
OF THE
C O N D U C T
Of the SEVERAL
POWERS of EUROPE,
Engaged in the LATE
GENERAL WAR:

Including authentic ACCOUNTS of all the
MILITARY and NAVAL OPERATIONS;

FROM THE
Commencement of Hostilities between the Crowns
of GREAT BRITAIN and SPAIN, in 1739.

TO THE
Conclusion of the GENERAL TREATY of PACI-
FICATION at AIX LA CHAPELLE, 1748.

By *RICHARD ROLT.*
IN FOUR VOLUMES.
VOL. II.

L O N D O N :

Printed for S. BIRT in Ave-mary Lane, T. LONGMAN in
Pater-noster Row, P. VAILLANT in the Strand, J. WAUGH
in Lombard-street, and W. OWEN at Temple-Bar. 1749.

55. a. 172.



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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

J O H N,

EARL of *GRENVILLE*.

MY LORD,



THE principal ambition of the Author of this work, is to convey truth to posterity: and though he has no pretensions to all the eminent qualifications requisite to form the character of an historian, yet he can honestly assert that he possesses one of the most commendable, the love of sincerity. This naturally emboldens him, to request the patronage of a nobleman, so conspicuously distinguished, in the transactions of that remarkable period he endeavours to
a 2 illustrate;

iv DEDICATION.

illustrate; because it is but justice that the most excellent, and most profitable kind of writing, should be addressed to such persons whose characters have been the ornaments of their own country, and the pattern of imitation in others: he is vain of nothing, in the undertaking, but the choice of so great a patron; in which he only imitates the examples of more judicious authors, who made it their primary business to design their works an offering to the most deserving honour and merit.

NATIONS have felt the happy influence of British councils, directed by Your Lordship. When the long and fatal administration, that had thrown the politics of Britain, for more than twenty years, in a channel diametrically opposite to the plain and indubitable interest of the country, was fortunately subverted; thro' the judgment and recommendation of Your Lordship, the ambition of France was repressed, the liberties of
Europe

DEDICATION.

Europe defended ; and the natural confederate of Britain protected, from those imminent dangers that instantly threatened ruin and destruction to the inheritance of the House of Austria : to the generous cares of LORD CARTERET does the reigning princess of that illustrious family, not only owe her imperial dignity, but even her preservation : to Your councils is it owing, that Britain made it apparent she was still formidable on the continent, and as willing as she was able to preserve the liberties of Europe, from the attempts of tyranny and oppression. The opening of Your glory was like that of light ; You shone to us from afar ; and disclosed Your first beams on distant nations : Sweden is indebted for her liberty, her laws, her very existence, to Your mediatorial offices with Russia : and this influence was so peculiarly exerted, that, as the lustre of it was spread abroad, it reflected brightly on your natal country : for Your Lordship

DEDICATION.

ship was then an honour to it, when it was a reproach to itself.

LIKE GALLUS, not content by serving your country only in a ministerial capacity, Your Lordship attended AUGUSTUS to the field, and exposed so valuable a life to the dangers of martial contention: beneath Your administration Britain enjoyed all the blessings of a flourishing commerce, at a time when she grew terrible in arms. Since our country is deprived of so envied an ornament, since Your Lordship is no more a minister, still be a MECÆNAS, and permit the Author of so trivial a product of literature, the freedom of prefixing Your name to the Second Volume of his Work, who is,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most respectful

and obedient servant,

R. ROLT.



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THE
THIRD PART:
FIRST DIVISION.
CHAPTER IV.

Transactions at the courts of LON-
DON, VERSAILLES, VIENNA, and
at the HAGUE.



THE state of her Hungarian CHAP.
majesty was so wonderfully IV.
changed, that, instead of the
melancholly prospect of inevi- 1742.
table ruin, she had now the
pleasing scene of success before
her, and the probability of re-
straining the ambition of France. While Khe-
venhuller, thus triumphantly spread the Austrian
banner in Bavaria; while the Prussians and Sax-
ons

PART ons were conciliating their differences; and the

III. French skulking behind the ramparts of Prague; the British ministry, firm to their resolution of assisting the Queen of Hungary, used all their power at home, and exerted all their influence abroad, to alleviate her misfortunes, re-establish her glory, and humble the vanity and insolence of her oppressors.

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IN May, the British forces, consisting of 16,339 men, arrived in Flanders; but their commander, the Earl of Stair, was at that time employing all his great abilities at the Hague, to awaken the Dutch from their apathy, to convince them of their danger, to induce them to gird on their swords; and, by openly joining the British forces, to preserve their own security, and the protection of the house of Austria. For this purpose, the Earl of Stair opened his embassy, at a public audience he had of the States General, on the 10th of April, in an elegant speech, warm with all the force and spirit of a patriot, a soldier, and a Briton. His excellency represented to the assembly, “ That his Britannic majesty, closely
“ united as he was with the republic by the
“ strongest ties of mutual interest, for the reciprocal support of their common liberty and
“ independance, was desirous, in that delicate
“ and dangerous conjuncture, to give them the
“ most convincing proofs of his perfect friendship and entire confidence. For this reason,
“ his majesty had sent him thither, with full
“ powers to concert and take, jointly with their
“ high mightinesses, the proper measures for
“ preserving the liberty of Europe, and re-establishing a just ballance of power; as likewise for maintaining the independance of his
“ own kingdoms, and of the dominions of their
“ high

“ high mightinesses, by preserving the house of CHAP.
“ Austria, in conformity to their common en- IV.
“ gagements; his majesty flattering himself, that
“ these measures would be taken without loss of 1742.
“ time. That the whole world was informed
“ of the generous efforts, which their ancestors
“ made for the recovery of their liberty, and
“ the defence of their religion: the whole world
“ was witness to the great actions performed by
“ their republic, for the support of the liberty of
“ Europe. Those glorious actions did not al-
“ low his Britannic majesty to entertain one mo-
“ ment’s doubt of the magnanimity, and of the
“ wisdom, of the republic. They would not,
“ certainly, submit now to the servitude against
“ which they had so gloriously fought. That,
“ in an entire persuasion of this truth, the king
“ addressed himself to their high mightinesses,
“ assuring them of his entire friendship and con-
“ fidence, and at the same time, of a powerful
“ assistance for supporting such measures as should
“ be jointly taken. That his Britannic majesty
“ extremely commended their high mightinesses
“ late wise resolution of augmenting their land
“ forces, and putting part of their fleet to sea.
“ The States, in a strict union with his majesty,
“ would thereby become masters of the sea,
“ which was a very great advantage; and, on
“ the other hand, would be in a condition to
“ cover that part of their frontier, which they
“ found to be the most exposed: and, in case
“ their high mightinesses should judge it neces-
“ sary to procure an additional defence on that
“ side, by a new alliance, the king, as elector,
“ offered them, with the greatest cordiality, his
“ concurrence therein; and that the barrier
“ might not be weakened, by their troops being

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III.

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“ employed in garrisoning that exposed frontier,
 “ his majesty had given orders, in consequence
 “ of the requisition of the Queen of Hungary,
 “ for the transporting a considerable body of his
 “ British troops into the Low Countries. That
 “ when their high mightinesses should have thus
 “ put all their frontiers into a condition of not
 “ apprehending any surprize, they would be
 “ able to protect their allies in the manner they
 “ should think most convenient; and thereby
 “ other princes, who might be willing to act in
 “ conjunction with the Maritime powers, for the
 “ maintenance of the liberty of Europe, would
 “ be able to do it with greater freedom, and
 “ without fear; which could never be the case,
 “ without a perfect and declared union of those
 “ two powers, and without their taking mea-
 “ sures in concert for their own reciprocal secu-
 “ rity, for the preservation of their allies, and
 “ for the public liberty. All that they had
 “ lately seen, must clearly convince them, that
 “ the most solemn treaties were too weak a sup-
 “ port for the liberties of Europe, and that more
 “ real securities were necessary: therefore his Brit-
 “ annic majesty found himself obliged to re-
 “ monstrate to their high mightinesses, that the
 “ solemn faith of treaties required, that the
 “ Queen of Hungary should be assisted. The
 “ king, on his part, had given most convincing
 “ proofs of his good faith, and friendship to-
 “ wards her Hungarian majesty; and thereby
 “ demonstrated his exactness in the performance
 “ of his engagements, and his readiness to go
 “ even beyond them; and relied upon the good
 “ faith of their high mightinesses, that they
 “ would not delay fulfilling, in the same man-
 “ ner, their engagements with the queen: and
 “ his

Engaged in the late General War.

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“ his majesty desired the States to consider, that
“ if that princefs should be once oppreffed, it
“ would be more difficult to fupport the general
“ independance of Europe. That the unani-
“ mous confent of the Britifh fubjects, was fuch
“ a fecurity to their high mightineffes for his
“ majesty’s good and generous intentions, as
“ could not but be very agreeable to them; and
“ the king flattered himfelf, that the fubjects of
“ their high mightineffes were in the like fenti-
“ ments for the prefervation of their own inde-
“ pendance, and of the public liberty.”

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M. de Van Haren, prefident of the affembly, returned an answer, declaring, “ That the
“ friendship and union which had fo long fub-
“ fifted between the two nations, had been al-
“ ways looked upon, by their high mightineffes,
“ as too advantageous for them to neglect their
“ utmoft endeavours towards cultivating of them,
“ and rendering them perpetual. That the
“ States had now the greateft pleafure in being
“ informed of the defire of his Britannic majesty,
“ not only to confirm the good underftanding
“ between the Maritime powers, but to eftablifh
“ it upon more folid and ftable foundations than
“ ever. That the neighbourhood, the folemn
“ treaties, and the conformity of fentiments, as
“ well with refpect to religion, as with refpect to
“ liberty, all contributed to make the States fen-
“ fible of the ineftimable value between the two
“ nations; and that the States would always give
“ convincing proofs of it.”

THE prefident of the affembly, though he did not declare the fentiments of all the deputies of the States, fpoke with the fincerity and zeal of the honeft Dutchman: being a man of eminent abilities, he fundamentally knew the true intereft
of

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PART of his country, and very justly conceived it to lie
III. in a strict union with the British nation, to oppose
 the designs of France: this he perceived to be
 1742. the general opinion of the people; but, as the
 necessary expedients for concurring with their natural ally, against their natural enemy, was opposed and retarded by the influence and corruption of France, this honest patriot assiduously employed his elaborate genius in captivating the affections of the populace, informing and inflaming them, by his elegant writings, to rouse up the vivacity and ardour of their ancestors, and to avow their sentiments where lay their liberty, their independance, and to point out to them the real sources from whence arose the disappointment of such salutary measures. This gentleman had very happy qualifications for a poetic genius; these he exerted to their own native and honest principles; and, in his verses, stigmatized many eminent persons, in the regency of the republic, with the atrocious calumny of corruption. In these worthy motives he never wanted for assistants, particularly a deputy from the province of Friesland published some remarkable compositions, calculated to endeavour to animate the people; and amongst them was an allegory, founded on the history of Leonidas, the generous defender of Sparta and of Greece, and the entrance of Xerxes through the streights of Thermopilæ, after the Persian monarch had found means to sow dissention amongst the Greeks; and this was applied by the author, to the state of the republic, in order to influence the people to the augmentation of troops, and commencing a war with France.

FROM the great rank these gentlemen held in the republic, their writings did not fail of alarming
 ing

ing the people; which the party influenced by France took every precaution to circumvent. At this time the Greffier Fagel was the grand pensionary, a minister of consummate wisdom, silvered with age employed in the direction of the State; a man revered for his virtue, respected for his learning, beloved for his candour, and admired for that noble freedom which accompanied his words and his actions: he was intimately acquainted with every branch of interest appertaining to that people over whom his councils had the chief ascendant; and though he had the soul and probity of the valuable Dutchman, his own determinations were too weak to breast the torrent of opposition, let loose by the management of France, whose corruption was too prevalent for reason, public interest, and private honour.

M. Van Hoey at this time, and for many years had, resided in quality of the Dutch ambassador at the court of France: this minister, though a man of an extensive capacity, was altogether attached to the French interest; and always more vigilant in promoting the views of Cardinal Fleury, than consulting the real advantage of that State he represented. The cardinal knew the ascendancy he had over the Dutch minister, and took every opportunity to increase it. When the Earl of Stair had opened his embassy to the States, the cardinal was soon after acquainted with their resolutions, and concluded that their high mighty-nesses had given a flat negative to the propositions of the British ambassador, for which his eminency extravagantly commended their high mighty-nesses, as they should, in the midst of so many temptations, have so steadily embraced the most valuable blessings of peace; and continue to let their

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PART their subjects reap the agreeable fruits of tranquillity and commerce, whilst almost all Europe was ravaged and ruined by armies, and the rest of it felt the scourge of war, though less severely.

III.

1742.

The politic cardinal, in his intercourses with Mr. Van Hoey, frequently represented, that the constant and immutable maxims of the English were, to lessen the navigation and commerce of the Dutch, and to weaken its naval force; that they endeavoured to maintain a misunderstanding between the States and the crown of France, in order to keep the republic dependant on them, and to give her laws; and that the English attempted to involve the republic in a war with France, from their jealousy of seeing the Dutch commerce flourish by the continuance of peace, while theirs was destroyed by a war. The cardinal was much concerned at the third augmentation of the Dutch troops; but pretended he never looked upon it as a thing which he had any right to oppose; and that if he had sometimes testified it gave him inquietude, it was only as to the consequences he apprehended some warm members might draw from it, to the prejudice of the republic: his eminence, at some times, intimated, that the republic had indeed strong reasons to cultivate a friendship with the crown of England; but that she ought not to be wholly at her devotion, since, from reasons and maxims perpetual in their nature, the interests of England were in eternal opposition to those of the States; for the English could not suffer any rival in commerce, which was the very soul of the republic; and, for this reason, it was the true interest of England, in order to carry its particular points to the prejudice of all other trading nations, to keep the war on foot; whereas, it was the interest

rest of the republic to put an end to it: he ob-
served, how in the last war the English had suc-
ceeded in, almost entirely, ruining the naval
force of the republic, which was the sole support
of its commerce; that, at present, the keeping
up 100,000 men would reduce the republic into
a more desperate state, than she was in those
days; and that, consequently, the English would
leave no stone unturned to draw the republic into
those mischiefs, which his eminency had so
strongly depicted: from whence he concluded,
that these considerations ought to be regarded as
powerful motives to induce their high mighti-
nesses to shut, once for all, and for ever, the
door, against all propositions and insinuations,
tending to draw the republic into a war against
the crown of France; and that this would be the
only means to take away all hope from England;
as also to discredit all the reasons she made use of,
to engage the Queen of Hungary to brave the
utmost extremities, rather than consent to a
peace, agreeable to the situation of her affairs,
though it was most evident, that time must gra-
dually render the circumstances of that princess
worse and worse.

M. Van Hoey always represented the effects of
these conferences in the strongest manner to the
grand pensionary; never failing to descant on the
pacific inclination of the cardinal, and his sincerity
and affection to the welfare and prosperity of
the republic. This minister always put the most
favourable constructions on the conduct and policy
of France, and threw the veil over the most
singular proofs from the British court of their
regard and friendship for the States: he had al-
ways opportunity, and never wanted argument,
to prejudice the assembly against the declarati-

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ons of England, and recollected every instance through the depth of history, to depreciate their character: among these, it was easy to remember, that though the English at first rescued the Dutch from the slavery of Spain; that though they patronised the infancy of their State, and continued their guardianship till it was grown up to maturity, and enabled to support itself by its own strength; yet, that they afterwards vigorously attempted to reduce the State to its original weakness, to invade the most essential part of its rights, and to prescribe the number of ships it should maintain: this could not pass the observation of M. Van Hoey; and, among other instances for his purpose, he recalled to their memory, how in the time of Queen Elizabeth and the Earl of Leicester, the English attempted, in the very dawn of the republic, to subject it to the yoke of England; fomenting, in order thereto, the most desperate seditions, under the false pretences of religion and liberty being in danger: how, both Cromwell, and Charles II. laboured totally to subvert the republic, calling it, in respect to them, another Carthage: how in 1664, in the midst of peace, while King Charles II. flattered the State, and in a manner stifled it with caresses, his fleet drove the Hollanders from some very considerable settlements they had formed, in, what was then called, the New Netherlands, and at present, New York: how, soon after, in 1672, the same king, taking advantage from the discontent conceived by France against the republic, on account of the triple alliance, engaged the French in a detestable treaty, for sharing the spoils of the republic between France and England; and attacked her jointly: and how the sovereignty of the province
of

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of Holland, in favour of the Prince of Orange, CHAP.
nephew to King Charles II. was one of the IV.
points of satisfaction which England exacted from
the republic. He reminded them, that Eng- 1742.
land had found the secret of engaging the regen-
cy of the republic in a war against France and
Spain, under pretence of securing their liberty
and religion, by which they had almost ruined
the State; neither did he forget to remember
them, in what manner the English, in extricat-
ing themselves out of that war, proved that these
pretences were only snares to draw in the State,
and ruin its naval force and commerce by her
own proper arms, and to elevate on those ruins
the naval force and commerce of England; and
inferred, that it was not now more difficult for
England, to engage the republic to make such
efforts, as were beyond her strength, and which,
consequently, could have no other tendency than
her destruction: concluding, from such recapit-
ulations, that a close union was requisite between
France and the republic, as it was the only
counterpoise, capable of preventing the English
from acquiring the absolute dominion of the sea.
But, if the partial Dutchman had been less severe
in his reflections, he might, with a greater de-
cency, have thrown a more flagrant odium on
the English, by recollecting the opinion of the
celebrated De Wit, delivered to Sir William
Temple, in one of their conferences on negoci-
ating the triple league; in which the British am-
bassador met with many difficulties, and for
which De Wit thought himself authorized to say,
"That the unsteadiness of councils in Eng-
land, seemed a fatal thing to its constitu-
tion; that he would not judge from what
grounds, but from the time of Queen Eliza-
beth,

PART “ beth, there had been a perpetual fluctuation.

III. “ in the conduct of England, with whom it was

“ not possible to take measures for two years to-

1742. “ gether.”

ON the arrival of the British troops in Flanders, M. Van Hoey was greatly disappointed; as he imagined the resolution of the States, not to enter into a war with France, would have prevented this embarkation: but when he found the British ministry persisted in their resolutions, he freely and copiously expatiated on their conduct; informing the Greffier Fagel, that it was apprehended at Paris, that the reasons inducing the English to a firm adherence in prosecuting their designs, were, “ To hinder the Queen of Hungary from making peace, by giving her some real assistance, in hopes of engaging the republic at last; because the safety and interest of the English required that the war should still be continued. To have, by means of the war in which they would involve the republic, an opportunity of preventing her from extending her commerce, an object which had been always the alpha and omega of their policy. That in case they should not be able, by this embarkation, to engage the republic in a war; they might, at the worst, make it a pretence for laying hold of Ostend, by way of a pledge. That labouring to bring about a general war against France, was the best way of making court to the whole English nation; for, according to their notions, this was magnanimity, and the very height of heroism, with which the new ministry had set out, and by talking loud of their visible advantages, they easily gained the hearts of the people.”

“ people, who paid their taxes with the greatest cheerfulness.”

SUCH representations as these, could not fail of favouring the views of Cardinal de Fleury, and his profelyte Van Hoey, in the assembly of the States; minds already prepossessed with the strongest partiality to France, and aversion to England, wanted little seducement to declare their sentiments in favour of the corrupting power, and prejudicial to the honest views of the other. 1742.

THE Dutch, however penurious, however lucrative their designs, however inclined to venality, or allured by the corruption of France; were yet, at this time, far from being totally degenerated from the bravery and integrity of their ancestors. Though the lust of unmolested commerce, might be the predominant principle with some; though others might be unwilling to have their country engaged in a war, and expose themselves to the resentment of a powerful neighbour, when another people appeared ready to fight their battles and defend their barrier: though others might be sordidly and fatally attached to the interest of France, and neglected every advantage of their republic: yet, M. Van Haren, amidst the variety of opinions that confusedly reigned in the assembly of the States, found himself powerfully supported by a band of generous-spirited Dutchmen, pre-determined to oppose the artifices of France, and pursue the natural and obvious interest of their republic. The world should not always judge of the general inclination of the Dutch, by the procedure of their deputies; since particular men, may be influenced by private views, to retard the designs which the honest and impartial universally approve;

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PART prove; the Dutch patriots, sensible of this truth,
III. expected every day would serve to defeat the

~ prejudices of the republic, and that the general
1742. voice of the people would at last prevail, and the
passions and avarice of private men, give way to
the interest of the public. These worthy patriots
were yet incapable of giving that assistance
they thought requisite to check the pride of
France, and maintain the independance of the
republic, by securing a ballance of power: how-
ever strong their desires were, however ardent
their exhortations, to procure the house of Aus-
tria assistance; this could not be speedily effect-
ed: the determinations of large assemblies are
always slow, but with much more difficulty must
any resolution be formed in the assembly of the
united provinces, where it must be the joint act
of the whole community, every individual hav-
ing a negative voice, and where unanimity alone
can make a decision obligatory; and wherever
this is the form of government, as it is both in
Holland and Poland, the State lies at the mercy
of every man who has a vote in its councils; and
the corruption, the folly, or the obstinacy of
one, may impede or frustrate the most impor-
tant designs, lay his country open to the inroads
of an enemy, dissolve the most solemn alliances,
and involve a nation in misery.

As the States were now potently armed, visi-
bly able, and gradually inclining to join their
forces in the general quarrel against the violators
of the pragmatic sanction; the Marquis de Fene-
lon, the French ambassador at the Hague, ex-
erted all his talents to circumvent every endea-
vour of the British ambassador, that tended to
influence the States General towards the assistance
of the house of Austria: this nobleman was ne-
phew

phew to the celebrated Archbishop of Cambray, CHAP. author of *Telemachus*, and being a minister of IV.. great abilities, and of the politest address, he perceived, that among the Dutch, there were some 1742. of the principal members of the assembly enamoured with the magnanimity and firmness of the Queen of Hungary; that they were zealous for the general good of mankind; concerned for the liberties of Europe; and convinced of the perfidy, the ambition, and the insolence of France. These members, too obdurately honest to be venally mollified by the influence of France, convinced the ambassador of that crown, the gold of Versailles was too impure to stand the crucible of probity, fixed in the uncorrupted bosom of a Dutch patriot at the Hague; and of these there were really such, who had long endeavoured to rouse their country from the sloth of avarice, and the slumber of tranquility, to a generous and extensive regard for the universal happiness of mankind; and were labouring in the general assembly, to communicate that ardour with which they were themselves inflamed; and to excite that zeal for public faith, of which their superior knowledge shewed them the necessity. This gave the Marquis de Fenelon a suspicion of the increasing influence the Earl of Stair was acquiring with the States; and he strenuously attempted to defeat his success; particularly memorializing against the arrival of the British troops in Flanders: which the Earl of Stair frustrated, by declaring in the name of his Britannic majesty to the States, "That the king had
" no intention to give any disturbance to France
" by this step; his design being, not so much
" to assist the Queen of Hungary, though bound
" by treaty to grant her assistance, as to secure
" the

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“ the interest of his subjects, who had advanced considerable sums to her majesty ; and that to give a proof of his moderation and desire of peace, his Britannic majesty was willing to withdraw his troops from Flanders, provided France, at the same time, would withdraw her armies from the Empire.”

BOTH the Imperial and French ambassadors, visibly perceived the Earl of Stair would soon discountenance their credit at the Hague: his excellency had already declared to the regency, “ That his Britannic majesty, in order to shew he had no intention of appropriating to himself such places in Flanders as should be mortgaged to him by the Queen of Hungary, proposed, that the garrisons of those places should consist of half English and half Dutch troops.” The Marquis de Fenelon employed all his interest among the members of the State, to reject every proposition, and disregard every overture made by the British ambassador: while Count Sinshheim, the Imperial ambassador, gave in a representation, “ Deploring the melancholly condition of the empire, which he imputed to the obstinacy of her Hungarian majesty ; alleging, that the tranquility of Europe depended on the States embracing the proposals of France, and accepting a neutrality : and that, without entering into a war, or failing in their alliance with the Queen of Hungary, they might, by their powerful mediation, gain a permanent glory, and secure the friendship of the emperor and his allies.”

ON the 12th of July, the Earl of Stair and Mr Trevor presented a memorial to the States ; wherein, after mentioning the resortification of Dunkirk, and insisting that the States should
name

name commissaries to inspect, in conjunction with CHAP.
those of Great Britain, the works there, they IV.
informed their high mightinesses, "That in the
"mean time they might deliberate on the na- 1742.
"ture of a peace, and consult whether it would
"not be better to make a solid and lasting
"peace for all Europe, than a provisional one;
"which, in all probability, would be no better
"observed than the several treaties made with
"France for some time past had been. That
"his Britannic majesty had already taken his
"resolution; he desired peace, but on solid
"and durable terms. That his majesty was
"persuaded, if their high mightinesses acted in
"concert with him, the court of Versailles
"would not fail to listen to the proposals which
"the Maritime powers might jointly make for
"such a peace; but, if it should happen other-
"wise, the king was persuaded, that the forces
"of the Maritime powers, joined to those of
"the other allied powers, would infinitely sur-
"pass the French forces; especially consider-
"ing the present conjuncture, wherein a war
"must prove extremely detrimental to the
"crown of France." As the British ambassa-
dors improved every opportunity, to conciliate
the friendship of the republic; they began to
perceive a dissipation of their jealousies, an
abatement of their fears, and a melioration of
that inflexibility which had so long steeled up
the bosoms of Dutchmen, from uniting in the
common interest of their natural allies. The
States began to suspect the integrity of France;
they were apprized that the same suspicion had
promoted the defection of Prussia and Saxony
from the French confederacy; and were sensible
of the advantages that might be drawn from

PART this disjunction: they saw the Queen of Hungary

III. able to defend herself every where; they found
his Sardinian majesty resolved punctually to as-

1742. sist the house of Austria: the Dutch began to be convicted of the sincerity of England, and found they might depend on the vigour and stability of the British administration; and this prevailed on them to disclose their sentiments. The instruments of France saw the diminution of their influence; and the friends of liberty, the republic, and the house of Austria, though they had not yet attained an entire ascendancy, yet, at length, on the 8th of July, prevailed on the assembly to issue orders for an encampment of thirty battalions and fifty squadrons, making 30,000 men. After this encampment, the States were strongly solicited by France to embrace a neutrality; and by Great Britain to form a confederacy with the house of Austria: but, whether from their own natural propensity of engrossing the chief commerce of Europe, or from the ductility spread by the corruption of France, the republic still avoided any real alteration in their measures; remaining, like an artful coquet, seemingly fond and indulgent to both her followers, neither accepting of one, nor discarding the other.

WHILE the house of Austria was thus recovering from her late desperate condition, the ministry of Versailles shuddered at the approaching danger, with which their defeated projects had incumbered them: their bravest troops lay perishing in the extremity of Germany, a country the French soldiery always looked upon as a lion's den, where there was the visible steps of those that went in, but not the least trace of any that returned. The Queen of Hungary
was

was every where emerging from the destruction that invironed her; her own troops sufficiently reduced the arrogance of France, and struck the new emperor with humility: in Italy, the king of Sardinia repelled the ravages of the Spaniards, and these troops seemed to be equally abandoned with the French in Bohemia; nay, their situation appeared more desperate, as the measures taken by the British court prevented them from receiving any Assistance; for the British fleet sailed uncontrouled, and acted vigilantly in the Mediterranean, denying any access to the Spanish troops by sea; and the British troops in Flanders, withheld any succours from France by land, as they were obliged to draw the forces they could spare into the Low Countries for their own security.

THIS unfavourable situation of affairs, occasioned the deepest concern and anxiety in the ministry of France; and while the whole nation loudly vented their exclamations against the councils that had plunged them into their deplorable circumstances, their deluded monarch was the last man, throughout all his dominions, sensible of the misfortunes of his army, his subjects, and allies. This monarch was naturally free, discreet, and impenetrably secret; pious, but above the weaknesses of monkish credulity; preferring the repose and pleasures of life, to laborious occupations: of a sound judgment, and happy memory, and somewhat versed in history, especially that of his own kingdom; but through the want of education, suitable to his dignity, he contracted an antipathy to business, and was entirely governed by his ministers, particularly the cardinal, who had been his preceptor, and in his infancy had gained an entire

PART ascendancy over him : his majesty was not born
 III. with any passion for war, but rather of a mild
 { and peaceable disposition ; he was of a high
 1742. spirit, had much sensibility in friendship, and
 did not very patiently bear the thoughts of an
 ill treatment, or that the world should entertain
 a mean opinion of him and his country.

CARDINAL DE FLEURY would willingly have still kept the king in ignorance of the condition of his forces in Bohemia. This minister, finding the potent opposition to his ambitious projects, was desirous of promoting a reconciliation between France and the Queen of Hungary ; this he had strongly, but ineffectually, solicited : at length he wrote a letter to Count Konigslegg, president of the Aulic council at Vienna, dated the 11th of July 1742, by which he offered some private propositions for a peace ; but these were rejected, because the Queen of Hungary could have little dependance on the fidelity of France, and chose rather to trust her security to the valour of her victorious troops, and the confidence she reposed in the friendship of her allies. This rejection of his propositions, gave the cardinal additional concern ; he was conscious it must be necessary to the interest of France, to inveigle herself into the confidence of the Queen of Hungary, and he knew if the king was apprized of the danger of his troops, this scheme would be instantly frustrated by the impatience of his majesty, who would not fail to send a reinforcement into Bohemia, to prevent any dishonour to the arms of France ; therefore, the cardinal continued to deceive his majesty, while he used all his policy, but in vain, to accommodate differences with the Queen of Hungary. This behaviour was inconsistent with that probity

probity and ingenuity, for which the cardinal was always so remarkably distinguished, in conveying his informations to the royal ear; for the king, immediately after his coronation at Reims, having heard it said to his old preceptor, "That his majesty was then to take an eternal farewell to the company of truth;" the young prince asked the cardinal, with great astonishment, Why? and having received for answer, "That truth was chased from the thrones of kings by flattery;" the royal youth, in the most gracious manner replied, "For my part, Sir, I desire you always tell me the truth." On which the cardinal promised the king never to disguise any thing to him; and kept his word more religiously than could have been well expected, from so sagacious a priest; because he conceived, that daring to speak the most disagreeable truths to kings, is always a most evident mark of sincere respect, and true affection, for their sacred persons.

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NOTWITHSTANDING all the policy of the cardinal, the king received information of the melancholly state of affairs in Bohemia: this intelligence was artfully conveyed to him by Mademoiselle Mailli, his favourite mistress; who, receiving a letter from Marshal Broglio, representing the extremity the troops were reduced to at Prague, left it on her table; not doubting but the curious monarch, or the jealous lover, would peruse it: this stratagem succeeded, and the king, in the greatest agitation, immediately ordered the council to assemble in his presence; where the matter was debated: and the cardinal declared his opinion against attempting the relief of Prague; and since the court of Vienna persisted in their resolution of making the garrison prisoners,

PART ers, he thought it more for the interest of France, to suffer her troops to surrender on the best conditions they could obtain; alledging, that the money expended in assisting the house of Bavaria, was in vain to relieve a prince, who could not, or did not, endeavour to assist himself: but the majority of the council were of a contrary opinion, and alledged, that the honour of France was concerned, both in relieving Prague, and supporting the emperor: such an opinion entirely coincided with the inclinations of the king; he was impatient to preserve the reputation of those forces he had vainly imagined invincible; and urged it to the council, to propose the most effectual and instantaneous means, for accomplishing so important an end: the council advised it as the most expedient step, in so critical a conjuncture, to order Marshal Maillebois to quit his advantageous situation in Westphalia, and march his army, with the utmost expedition, into Bohemia, for the relief of Prague; which was immediately resolved on, and put in execution.

THE gloom that had lately intercepted the views of the French monarch, was now dissipated; the prospect cleared up; and, with fear and astonishment, he beheld the unexpected scene. To disperse these fears, the ministry resolved that Marshal Maillebois should attempt to relieve the forces in Prague; and, when united, to retire immediately, with the whole army, into the dominions of France; because they expected that the absence of the marshal, would give a proper opportunity for his Britannic majesty to renounce the neutrality of Hanover; a neutrality that they knew could be of no validity, because arbitrarily imposed: they knew the forces of this electorate had

had been lately augmented; they considered the
Austrians, Hessians, and the British troops in the
Netherlands, together with the Hanoverians, as
one army, dispersed in remote quarters, but in-
tended to be assembled on the first opportunity,
and to act together when conjoined: they knew
that when this happened, such a junction would
be capable of making a formidable army; and
they also had their fears, that when such an army
was assembled, the Dutch would be readily in-
clined to concur in the confederacy, and reinforce
them with an additional body, sufficient to make
them able to act, or undertake, any thing. Upon
these considerations it was determined, to collect
the armies of France within their own territories,
and then it was imagined, they would have no-
thing to fear from the strongest and best con-
certed alliance that could be made, either with
respect to the conquest of the kingdom, or the
abatement of its power; and they were the
more conscious of this, because, every war that
had been hitherto carried on by an offensive al-
liance, had been less warmly pushed by some of
the confederates than by others, and as constant-
ly terminated by the different parties submitting
to the seducements of France, and making each
a separate peace.

THE French monarch was much dissatisfied on
discovering the posture of his affairs; and, attach-
ed as he was to the confidence of the cardinal,
he found that the great age and infirmities of this
minister, rendered him incapable of still continu-
ing the Atlas of the state; and, at the recom-
mendation of the Cardinal de Fleury, the king
appointed Cardinal Tencin, Archbishop of Lyons,
and Count d'Argenson, intendant of Paris, as
coadjutors to the Cardinal de Fleury, in the ma-
nagement

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PART nagement of the state. Cardinal Tencin was a-

III. bout sixty years of age, possessed of a great under-
standing, an enterprising genius, and the art of
1742. persuasion in perfection. Count d'Argenson was

a person of very great knowledge in different branches of learning, and of a clear and penetrating judgment. The Count de Maurepais had long enjoyed, and was continued in, the department of the marine, for which none were better qualified, as he had been much experienced in that considerable office, and was also perfectly acquainted with the law of nations, and the mathematics. These ministers were apprehensive of an immediate rupture with Great Britain, and endeavoured to establish a formidable marine: orders were issued for fitting out 23 men of war, and the registered seamen forbid to enter into the mercantile service; their East India fleet was detained from stirring out; and they put in practice every prudential method they could devise, to be in a capacity of opposing the dangerous designs, they apprehended from the alteration in the British ministry.

NOR were the British ministry less vigilant in their proceedings, vigorously to prosecute those designs the French were equally preparing to circumvent. On the 15th of July, his Britannic majesty went to the house of lords, and, having passed the bank act for raising 1,600,000 *l.* an act for granting a million out of the sinking fund, for the year 1742, and several other acts ready for the royal assent, put an end to the first session of the new parliament, by a most gracious speech to both houses, importing,
“ That he acquainted them at the beginning of
“ the session, with his endeavours to bring about
“ an accommodation between those princes
“ whose

“ whose union was most necessary in that critical CHAF.
“ conjuncture; and that the treaty lately con- IV.
“ cluded between the Queen of Hungary and
“ the King of Prussia, under his mediation, and 1742.
“ so highly to the honour of Great Britain, must
“ undoubtedly produce the best consequences
“ to the common cause. That the successes
“ which had attended the Austrian arms in
“ Germany, the conjunction of the King of Sar-
“ dinia's forces with those of the Queen of Hun-
“ gary in Italy, the present favourable dispositi-
“ on of the States General, and of other great
“ powers, were, under God, chiefly owing to
“ the generous assistance afforded by the British
“ nation; to its ancient and natural allies; and
“ that these happy events could not fail to give
“ encouragement to their friends, and to estab-
“ lish the reputation of their strength, and their
“ just influence abroad. That if, for the future
“ support and defence of the Queen of Hun-
“ gary, and to restore and secure the ballance
“ of power, so particularly recommended to
“ him by his parliament, it should become ne-
“ cessary for him to contract new engagements,
“ or to enter into further measures, he relied
“ upon their zeal and persecution, in so just a
“ cause, to enable him to make them good.
“ That, in the midst of these extensive transacti-
“ ons, he had been, and should continue to be,
“ attentive to the prosecution of the war against
“ Spain, with the utmost vigour; which was of
“ the greatest importance to the trade and navi-
“ gation of his subjects; the encouragement and
“ protection whereof, should be one of his prin-
“ cipal cares. That the zeal, unanimity, and
“ dispatch, with which the house of commons
“ had given such large supplies for the service of
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“ the current year, demanded his particular
 “ thanks; and were fresh proofs of their duty to
 “ him, and of their concern for the true interest
 “ of their country; and the success with which
 “ these supplies had been raised, must convince
 “ all the world of the established credit of the
 “ British nation. Concluding, that he had the
 “ justest confidence in the affections of his peo-
 “ ple, which he should not fail to cultivate by a
 “ constant care of their rights and liberties, and
 “ by promoting their prosperity and happiness:
 “ exhorting his nobility and gentry, to let it be
 “ their endeavours in their respective countries,
 “ to make these his good intentions rightly un-
 “ derstood; to calm and heal all animosities and
 “ divisions; to support his authority and govern-
 “ ment; and to preserve the peace and good
 “ order of the kingdom.” Then the lord chan-
 cellor, by his order, prorogued the House to
 16th of September.

His Britannic majesty had looked on the trou-
 bles of Europe with that concern which public
 virtue inspires; he had seen the sufferings of the
 Queen of Hungary, with that compassion which
 is always due to magnanimity oppressed; and
 formed resolutions for her assistance, which cou-
 rage naturally incites: but with that caution,
 likewise, and secrecy, which experience dictated.
 He remembered, that though he was the friend
 of the Queen of Hungary, he was to consider
 himself as the King of Great Britain, and the
 protector of a people already labouring under
 the weight of one expensive war; and that he
 was not to ruin their forces in romantic expedi-
 tions, or exhaust their treasures in granting unne-
 cessary assistance to an ally that seemed irrecover-
 ably lost. He therefore waited to observe the
 event

event of the war, and to discover whether the incessant struggles of the Austrians would be able to throw off the load with which they were oppressed; but he found that their spirit, however ardent, could not supply the want of strength; he saw them fainting under insuperable labours; and that though they were in no danger of being conquered by the valour of their enemies, they must, in a short time, be wearied in their numbers. His majesty then knew, that by sending them speedy assistance, he at once promoted the interest of his people, and gratified his own inclinations; he therefore supplied his Austrian ally with such sums as enabled her to levy new forces, and drive her enemies before her: with his influence he had created her useful friends, and reconciled some of her potent foes. But to secure the success that the Queen of Hungary had already obtained, and to take from the enemies of liberty all hopes of recovering the advantages they had lost, his majesty no longer confined his assistance to negotiations and pecuniary supplies; he knew that alliances are always best observed when they confer security, or produce manifest advantage; and that money is not always equivalent to armies: besides, her Hungarian majesty had requested that a British army might appear on the continent in her favour, because she knew the reputation and terror of the British arms; therefore his majesty acted openly in defence of his ally, filled Flanders once more with British troops, and garrisoned the frontier towns with the forces of that nation by which they were gained. These troops, on their arrival in Flanders, were too inconsiderable a body to commence hostilities against the French; yet they manifested the firm intention of his Britannic

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majesty to support the house of Austria; they awed its enemies, encouraged its friends, alarmed France, obliged her to keep her forces within her own territories, made her apprehensive of a design on Dunkirk, and, by drawing her forces near that quarter, kept so many troops from either relieving her own army in Bohemia, or the Spaniards in Italy; besides, by their situation, on the first opportunity, these troops might be reinforced in such a manner as to form a potent army.

As soon as the British ministry received intelligence of the designs of France, to send the army commanded by Marshal Maillebois to the relief of Prague, the council immediately assembled to consult what was the most necessary step to be taken on this important occasion; when it was determined, “ To assemble an army in Flanders “ capable of acting offensively against the French:” for this purpose there was already in that country 16,000 of the British troops, who could be soon joined by the 6,000 Hessians in British pay; and by 12,000 Austrians, which together would compose a body of 34,000 men; but as such a force would be incapable of annoying the French, who could soon form a superior army in Flanders, it was resolved to take another body of troops into British pay, to consist of 16,000 men, and thereby to augment the army, intended to be assembled in Flanders, to 50,000 men. At this time there was, by the calculation of regiments, 23,000 men on the British establishment; yet, if these 16,000 men had been deducted from these forces, there would then, if the regiments had been complete, have remained 7,000 men to protect the country, and which would have been not a man less than was maintained

at home in the wars of Queen Anne; but, as the CHAP. regiments were extremely deficient, it was IV. thought proper to raise the 16,000 additional 1742. troops, as auxiliaries from some of the foreign princes or powers: Denmark, Prussia, Saxony, Hanover, Holland, and Switzerland, were the only powers that could furnish this force; and to the first three, and the last two of these, were many objections: the Danes were inclined to France, they had already broke through a similar engagement with Great Britain, by refusing to furnish the 12,000 men formerly contracted for, and were upon the point of engaging in a quarrel of their own, which would require all their force; the Prussians, if they could be procured, were not to be depended on, from the instability of their friendship: the Saxons were too apprehensive of danger from the power and designs of Prussia, to hazard its own security in such precarious circumstances, by lending out so many troops, when the King of Prussia was daily augmenting his armies: the Dutch could not be solicited for this purpose, because if they had found the British nation ready to pay the troops of the republic, they would not have done it themselves; they would not have exerted their proper force, nor would they have been induced to accord with that alliance, which was one of the most principal reasons for collecting so great a force: and as to the Swiss cantons, it was impossible to effect their march into Flanders, having above 400 miles to pass upon the borders of the Rhine, exposed to the interruption of France: therefore the Hanoverians were the only remaining troops that could be fixed on; and as they were subjects of the same prince, a prince whom they highly venerated, it was natural to imagine they

PART they would be faithful to such a prince, and

III. would support his quarrel with a zeal, which
 could never be expected from the mercenary
 1742. troops of any other foreign power. The troops
 of this electorate were now augmented to 28,000
 men; these were full as many as the electoral re-
 venue could maintain at home, and greatly too
 numerous for that revenue to support the one
 half of them abroad; for the whole annual re-
 venue of Hanover does not exceed 450,000 ^{lbs},
 and these troops, while they detained the army
 under Marshal Maillebois to compel them to ad-
 here to their neutrality, answered the end of an
 actual aid to the Queen of Hungary of 35,000
 men; but as soon as the French were to quit
 their station for other services, if the Hanoverian
 troops were to continue in the electorate, they
 would then be of no longer use, and therefore it
 was requisite to consult in what manner they
 could be most advantageously put in motion by
 Great Britain, as the electorate was incapable of
 maintaining them in the field. Accordingly it
 was resolved, to take a body of Hanoverians
 into the British pay; a contract was concluded
 by which these troops were stipulated to consist
 of 5,513 horse, and 10,755 foot, in all 16,268
 men; for which the British crown was to allow
 the annual sum of 592,697 ^{l.} 8 ^{s.} 3 ^{d.} for the pay
 of the forces, and for levy money 139,313 ^{l.} 5 ^{s.}
 This article of levy money, in treaties of this
 nature, is always meant for the furnishing and
 compleating both horse and foot, and when it
 became public, did not escape without severe
 censures, it being apprehended as an imposition
 exacted on a false calculation, because those troops
 were not purposely raised in pursuance of this
 contract, but were actually levied before on
 other

other occasions; but, considering the usual allowances for auxilliary troops, though this article of levy money may seem improperly charged, by a comparison of this with similar treaties, this contract will appear in a very favourable light: in other contracts, the customary charge for levy money, in almost every instance, is eighty crowns for each horseman, sixty crowns for each dragoon, and thirty for each foot-soldier; and, according to this computation, the 16,268 Hanoverians, furnished by this contract, should have been allowed for levy money 171,796*l.* 10*s.* which is 32,483*l.* 5*s.* more than what is charged by the contract; and it is always usual, in such treaties, for the furnishing prince or power, to receive a yearly subsidy, besides other allowances; which, by this contract, was entirely remitted; and if insisted upon, according to the proportion paid to the King of Sweden, who, besides levy money and pay, received, for only 6,000 Hessians, an annual subsidy of 33,000*l.* this, for 16,000 Hanoverians, would have amounted to near 100,000*l.* a year; and, though omitted on the present occasion, this is an article which every other German prince had done, then did, and ever will insist upon: and, to make this contract the more favourable, his Britannic majesty, in his electoral capacity, consented that their pay should commence only upon the day they began to march out of the electorate; insisting upon no terms, as to the time they should be retained in pay; a circumstance the more favourable, as seldom complied with.

The British ministry were not apprized that the court of France intended to order their army to depart from Westphalia, till fifteen days before the recess of parliament, when it was imagined

PART gined too late, and too dangerous, to lay it be-
III. fore the parliament for senatorial consultation;
 as it was judged inconvenient to publish, at that
 1742. time, the whole scheme of their designs, which
 might give the French an opportunity of frus-
 trating them.

THE chief objection that could be first started
 against this procedure, was, as to the conclu-
 sion of the contract, without consulting the par-
 liament upon an affair of so important and deli-
 cate a nature. As to this, it may be answered,
 that though the ministry had received informa-
 tion, that the French army was to quit West-
 phalia, yet this information did not arrive till
 the 1st of July, and Marshal Maillebois did not
 march from Francfort, towards Bohemia, till
 the 30th of August; so that their march was
 only an uncertain contingency, and accidents
 might have intervened to prevent the execution
 of that project: and, when it was resolved, in
 council, to take the troops of Hanover into Brit-
 ish pay, a resolution made only a few days be-
 fore the parliament rose, it was natural to con-
 sider whether the consent of the parliament
 should not be demanded; but when it appeared,
 upon reflection, that to bring an affair of so
 great importance before the last remnant of a
 house of commons, after far the major part had
 retired to the care of their private business,
 would be suspected as fraudulent, and might
 give the nation reason to fear, that such measures
 were intended as the ministers were afraid of
 laying before a full parliament; it was thought
 more proper to defer the application to the
 next session, and to venture upon the measures
 that were formed, upon a full conviction of
 their necessity. This procedure of the ministry,

was

was requisite if only to conceal their intentions CHAP. IV.
from the French ; and when ever, in the interval of parliament, it became necessary, from any event, to hire foreign troops, the business was concerted by the crown; the treaty for the subsidy agreed, and the estimates referred to parliament; the British ministry, in this instance, acted in conformity to all the examples, during the reigns of King William and Queen Anne ; and, relying upon the benefit and expediency of their measures, confidently pursued them without any other security, than a conscious rectitude of their own designs ; expecting the concurrence of parliament, when matters could be more fully discovered; though sensible, that if the house of commons disapproved their plan, that the Haverian auxiliaries must return into their own country, or be supported at the expence of the elector. Another principal objection to this contract, was, that these forces could not act against the head of the empire without subjecting their prince to the censure of the imperial ban, a kind of civil excommunication ; but as the late imperial election was obtained by force, and contrary to the constituent and fundamental pact by which the German government is established, whereby the emperor is to be chosen by the free consent of the diet, where every elector should vote according to his own sense ; and this last election being obtained by a diet, in which the vote of Bohemia was suspended, contrary to law and justice, and in which the rest were extorted by the influence of a French army ; for this reason, the Queen of Hungary still refused to give the Elector of Bavaria the stile and honours which belong to the imperial dignity ; she considered the throne as still vacant,

and required that it should be filled by an uninfluenced election : and for this reason his Britannic majesty, as elector, conceived he had an equal right to dissolve his temporary neutrality, and attack the emperor, for whom he had only given a compulsory vote ; and by his resolution to employ his electoral troops to assist the Queen of Hungary, even in the empire, and against the emperor, sufficiently destroyed any objection on that account.

WHEN this resolution was taken, and the contract settled, it was instantly laid before the ministry of Vienna, for their deliberations and advice on such an important occasion ; who, at first, proposed it as most advantageous for their service, that, when Marshal Maillebois began his march into Bohemia, the Hanoverians should follow, and act in opposition to them : but, when it was represented to them that the Hanoverians had no magazines, and that the French would exhaust the provisions through the country they were to pass ; that the French had the strong town of Egra to befriend them, which the Hanoverians could not have neglected, nor have taken ; and that if the French should turn upon their pursuers, and wait in some strong post, they might oblige them to stay and face them in a country that they had left behind them in a ruinous condition ; or, at the best, the Hanoverians must have wintered far from home, in an impoverished desolate country, liable to all the inconveniences of a winter campaign : these considerations induced the Austrian ministry to depart from their opinion, especially, when they reflected of the ill-conveniences, and irretrievable prejudice, that an accident to this body of troops must have occasioned,

oned, in the operations of the next year, by the impossibility of bringing into the field, or forming, a sufficient army, to deal with that force that might be brought into Flanders by the French. It was further represented to the Austrian ministry, that if it was possible, by means of the difficult passes in the mountains of Bohemia, and by withdrawing the troops from Prague, to prevent the junction of the two French armies, only leaving a sufficient force to form a distant blockade, and to distress the garrison of Prague, that city must fall of course; the French must be disheartened and confounded by their disappointment, and both their armies be surrounded by the Austrians, and exposed to the utmost extremities; while the Austrian allies, united in Flanders by the Hanoverians, would form a numerous, strong, and vigorous army, that might enter into action, fresh, and with infinite more weight, in the ensuing spring. After this point had been maturely deliberated in the Austrian council, they agreed that the Hanoverian forces should not follow the French into Bohemia: the British councils directed the Austrian operations on this occasion, and they felt the happy consequence; for Marshal Maillebois never could penetrate through the passes of Bohemia; the Austrian army quitted Prague to meet him, leaving a small force to blockade the city; the army under Marshal Maillebois were miserably butchered and destroyed, by sword and famine; while the garrison of Prague underwent the most inexpressible hardships and dangers.

ACCORDINGLY, the British and Austrian ministers issued the necessary directions, and made speedy preparations for assembling the united army of British, Austrian, Hanoverian and Hes-

PART sian troops in Flanders, immediately on the departure of Marshal Maillebois from Westphalia.

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1742. The formation of such an army in Flanders, was, at this time, apparently necessary to keep the French in continual terror, and oblige them to detach, to that frontier, those troops, which, had they not been thus diverted, would have been employed in the preservation of their distressed forces in Bohemia; and this was the only inducement that could ever engage the Dutch to enter into that alliance, because, while such an army was assembled in Flanders, the States would be no longer awed in their deliberations by a French army at their gates; and when the danger was removed, it might be well apprehended, they would afterwards embrace their own security: and if the Dutch, in consequence of these measures, should be prevailed on to concur in the common cause, when the grand confederacy was once revived, and revived by the universal conviction of the destructive and insatiable ambition of France, what might not the friends of liberty presume to expect? Might they not hope, that those haughty troops which had been so long employed in conquests and invasions, that had laid waste the neighbouring countries with slaughters and devastations, would be soon compelled to retire to their own frontiers, and be content to guard the verge of their native provinces? Yes, certainly, the friends of liberty might thus far raise their expectations; nay, they might go further; and hope that the French would soon be driven from their posts; that they would be forced to retreat to a more defensible station, and admit the armies united against them into their dominions; that they would be pursued from fortress to fortress, and from one in-

intrenchment to another, till they should be re-
duced to petition for peace, and purchase it by
the alienation of those territories their former
successes had dismembered from other powers. 1742.

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But how delusive these expectations! fallacious hopes! hopes only founded on the reflection of distant ages, when the glorious black prince, like a young eagle, perched on the crest of victory, in the plains of Cressy; when the royal hero, that honoured Monmouth with his nativity, like a lion, ravaged through the folds of France; or when the noble Marlborough swept them before him, like the minister of heaven, commissioned to draw the flaming sword, and scatter a raging pestilence among the sacreligious Israelites. France, though not irresistible, is now too potent to be reduced by the same confederacy, with the same facility, as formerly subjected her: human force will never be able to accomplish this, unless propitiously favoured by the eternal ruler of the world; unless directed by the supreme disposer of nations; unless conducted by that omniscient power, who best knows the intentions of princes, who alone can defeat the ambition of tyrants, and secure the happiness of mankind, so as to cement that society, he, before the creation of the world, intended for the repose of men.

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CHAPTER V.

Continuation of the campaign in
BAVARIA: the taking of CHAM :
motions of the grand armies, com-
manded by PRINCE CHARLES and
MARSHAL MAILLEBOIS : the glo-
rious retreat of MARSHAL BELLE-
ISLE from PRAGUE: and the junc-
tion of the BRITISH, HANOVE-
RIAN, and HESSIAN troops in
FLANDERS.

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THE Austrians were still unmolested in Ba-
varia: the Duke de Harcourt, and Mar-
shal Thoring, never attempted to come to an
engagement; and Marshal Khevenhuller was
equally cautious of avoiding a decisive battle, till
the fate of Prague was determined. However,
the Austrian General, on the 20th of July, sent
Baron Trenck, with a detachment of 500 regu-
lar men, joined with his own pandours, with
four pieces of cannon, twelve pounders, and two
mortars, to attack the castle of Diefenstein,
where a whole swarm of huntsmen had shut them-

themselves up, under the command of Colonel **CHAP.**
Drakler, and **Baron Schrenk**, who was gover- **V.**
nor of the district of **Diefenstein**; they using to
make frequent excursions from this castle upon **1742.**
the Austrian parties, whom they had routed se-
veral times, and afterwards inhumanly massa-
cred their prisoners, **Baron Trenck** advanced
to the castle, on the 22d at night, unperceived
by the garrison, and invested it so close with his
pandours, that no body could come in or out
without his knowledge. The night of the 23d,
he brought his cannon forward, and took post in
a new house belonging to the castle, situated
close to the ditches; he then broke down the
back walls of the house, and, having made two
large loop-holes in the fore walls, planted two
pieces of cannon to play against the lower part
of the castle: the baron likewise ordered two
pieces of cannon to be planted upon an emi-
nence, about 100 paces distant, on a battery
erected for that purpose, in order to fire from
thence upon the upper part of the castle, where
the walls were very thin, and where every shot
must break through all the apartments, and
greatly annoy the garrison: as for the two mor-
tars, he directed them to be fixed behind a co-
vered rising ground, 150 paces distant from the
castle; which was executed, and the mortars
were ready to play by eight o'clock the day fol-
lowing. These dispositions being made, the
baron summoned the garrison to surrender, but
was answered at the mouth of six pieces of can-
non, which came thundering out all together.
Finding, therefore, that he must have recourse
to compulsive means to reduce them, the baron
ordered the Austrians to begin to cannonade.
This they did very briskly; and, early the next
morn-

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morning, made a large breach in the lower part of the castle wall, which was effected by the two pieces of cannon. Towards seven o'clock, the cannon of the upper battery had also made a considerable breach in the upper part of the castle; and the mortars, having thrown four bombs into the place, killed three men and twenty-three horses. The garrison, upon this, made a furious sally, intending to force their way sword in hand through the Austrians; but were so gallantly received by the pandours, that, after sustaining a considerable loss of men, they were obliged to retire into the castle, from whence they immediately hung out the white flag. The firing having ceased on both sides, the commandant came himself to the breach, and desired to surrender the place by capitulation; this Baron Trenck refused him, insisting that the garrison should surrender at discretion; which they at length complied with, having only the condition granted them of not taking away their lives. When the garrison surrendered, there were 193 men remaining; and, as the provocation they had given the Austrian troops had been very aggravating, Baron Trenck told them, they should be therefore sent to work upon the fortifications in Hungary, which they submitted to.

As Marshal Maillebois was now preparing to quit Westphalia, on his expedition for the relief of Prague, two abler generals were sent to command the French and Imperial forces in Bavaria: on the 23d of August the Duke de Harcourt resigned his command to Count Saxe; and, about the same time, Count Seckendorff assumed the command of the Bavarians: the latter of these generals had long commanded the imperial army against

against the Turks; and the former had acquired **CHAP.**
great reputation in the Russian service; and after- **V.**
wards, by his rapid conquests in the Low Coun-
tries, attained the first military name in Europe: **1742.**
but both these new generals continued inactive
on the Iser; having orders to provide for the
security of their troops, as they might be able
to join Marshal Maillebois with so strong a re-
inforcement.

MARSHAL MAILLEBOIS began his march,
with his forces consisting of 35,000 men, about
the middle of August; and, on the 14th of
September, the two first columns of his army
arrived at Amberg, the capital of the upper
Palatinate: while the marshal was in his way
to this city, the French and Bavarian army,
making together 35,000 men, under the Counts
Seckendorff and Saxe, quitted their Camp near
Straubingen, in Bavaria, and arrived, on the
1st of September, near Ratisbon, thirty miles
south of Amberg; from whence they decamped
soon after, and joined the marshal in the upper
Palatinate.

As soon as this intended march of the French
from Westphalia, was known at the court of
Vienna; an express was sent to Prince Charles of
Lorraine, ordering him to march, with the
greatest part of his army, to meet the French:
this express arrived, on the 27th of July, at the
camp before Prague; on which a grand council
of war was held, wherein it was resolved, to
turn the siege into a blockade, and to march,
with the greatest part of the army, towards the
upper Palatinate, in order to meet, and give bat-
tle, to the Marshal Maillebois. Upon this the
inhabitants for two German leagues round
Prague, were all obliged to retire, with their

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PART cattle and effects, to prevent the French, in
 III. Prague, from getting any supply : the Austrian
 1742. artillery and ammunition were sent to places of
 security ; and the army, consisting of 44000 men,
 marched out of the trenches, on the 3d of Au-
 gust, leaving Prince Lobkowitz, with 16,000
 men, to carry on the blockade. The Austrians
 marched, with the utmost expedition, to Hayd,
 on the frontiers of Bohemia, where they arrived
 on the 11th of September. Marshal Kheven-
 huller, with the Austrian army under his com-
 mand, also quitted his camp, and began his
 march towards Bohemia, to join the army un-
 der Prince Charles, then marching into the up-
 per Palatinate ; and joined his highness, at the
 camp at Hayd, with 20,000 men.


MARSHAL KHEVENHULLER, on his march-
 ing to join the army commanded by Prince
 Charles, left General Bernklau, with 6,000
 men, to secure the possession of Bavaria ; and,
 in his way through the upper Palatinate, sent
 Baron Trenck, with 300 croats, 140 pandours,
 and two companies of the regiments of Forgatsch
 and Andrafi, to make himself master of the
 town and country of Cham, and to lay them
 both under contribution. This is a large town
 of the Palatinatè of Bavaria, situate at the con-
 fluence of the rivers Cham and Reger, twenty-
 five miles N. E. of Ratisbon ; and, at that time,
 was garrisoned by Colonel Kunigel, with a bat-
 talion of life-guards, and two companies of
 grenadiers of the electoral Prince of Bavaria ;
 who had thirteen pieces of cannon, two mor-
 tars, and forty-eight pop-guns. This proceed-
 ing, of Colonel Kunigel, was looked upon as
 contrary to the laws of war ; because he and his
 men, notwithstanding their having been amongst
 the

the capitulants of Lintz, had not only withdrawn themselves from their quarters in an open country to a fortified town, but had begun, since their capitulation, to palliade it; and, upon receiving intelligence of the march of Baron Trenck, had broke down the bridge that was over a branch of the river Regen. Baron Trenck was commissioned to desire Colonel Kunigel, in an amicable manner to quit the town; and upon his refusal, to use compulsive methods to drive him out of it. On the 27th of August Baron Trenck arrived before the town; and sent Capt. Baron Erlach, to the commandant, to complain of his hostile proceedings, in contempt of so solemn a capitulation; to acquaint him, likewise, with the nature of his orders; and to desire him therefore, to evacuate the town. But the colonel, having received orders from the emperor to repel force by force, and not to abandon the town upon any consideration, in answer to the message, begged of the baron to allow him the space of twenty-four hours to consider what was most expedient for him to resolve upon; imagining, that in such a space of time he must receive some succours from Amberg, which was not above ten leagues distant. The request being complied with; the commandant dispatched away an express to his sovereign: whilst Baron Trenck took care to station proper guards, as well on the Straubingen, as the Amberg road, and five leagues all round about the town. The twenty-four hours were now elapsed; during which time the baron had received repeated orders, from Count Khevenhuller, to carry the town by force, notwithstanding its being fortified with a double wall, and surrounded with two branches of the river Regen. The day follow-

PART ing, about twelve o'clock, Baron Trenck sent
III. a drum to the commandant, to ask him, once

more, if he would surrender the town. **who**
1742. replied, that he had not yet dined. So con-

temptuous a treatment provoked the Austrian
 commander, who called out directly to his pan-
 dours, ordering them immediately to commence
 the attack; adding, that he would take care the
 commandant should not eat his dinner in security:
 he then ordered three pandours to dress themselves
 in female apparel, and set fire to the suburb; which
 was only one street, consisting of about twenty
 houses: the three pandours obeyed their orders;
 and the two companies of grenadiers, who had
 posted themselves in a kind of redoubt before
 one of the gates, to be ready for a sally, rushed
 out directly from their entrenchment, thinking
 to quench the flame; which increased to a pro-
 digious height, by means of a violent and long
 continued wind. Baron Trenck, upon advice
 of their movement, instantly attacked them in
 the blazing street; and drove them back into
 their redoubts: then falling on them, with fresh
 vigour, sword in hand, soon made himself master
 of the redoubt, and obliged them to retire into
 the town, with the loss of several killed, and
 three pieces of cannon left behind them. With
 this cannon the baron erected a battery against
 the gate; and having planted his own two small
 pieces of cannon in a redoubt raised on the
 Ratzenberg, he plied the town, from thence,
 with a constant and regular fire. At length a
 small flame of fire ascended from the roof of a
 house, which the wind increasing by degrees,
 the whole, in a short space of time, was all in a
 combustion. During this confusion the pandours
 climbed over the walls; and the fire continually
 extending

Extending itself, reached at length to the Bava-^{CHAP.}
rian magazines, whereby their powder, grana-^{V.}
des, arms, and the rest of their ammunition, 
blew up all into the air. By this time there was 1742.
not a single house in the town, but what was on
fire; insomuch, that the soldiers and inhabitants,
seeing the impossibility of saving the place, re-
solved upon making their escape, which was dif-
ficult for them to effect, as the bridges over the
Regen had been broke down. However, they
laid three planks over the river, and made what
haste they could to get to the other side. As
soon as Baron Trenck perceived the hurry and
confusion they were in, he mounted horse di-
rectly, pursued and overtook them, as they
were making towards a neighbouring wood,
with all their colours with them: the baron sent
up an hussar to them, to desire them to lay down
their arms, or that they must expect to be all
cut to pieces without mercy; whereupon they
surrendered, with little hesitation, and laid
down their arms, to the number of 772 men.
The Austrians took eleven pieces of cannon,
several colours, and got an immense booty in the
town; the inhabitants of the country round about
having, from an opinion they conceived of the
strength of the place and garrison, brought in
here their best effects, which were all equally
distributed amongst the Austrians, the baron's
own share amounting to 300,000 florins, and
the meanest pandour had not less than 2,000:
the loss of the Austrians was inconsiderable, but
the garrison had 200 men killed; and among
the prisoners were the commandant, five cap-
tains, seven lieutenants, and some ensigns: after
which the Austrians returned to the army.

PART THE Austrians, under Prince Charles and

III. Marshal Khevenhuller, being united at Hayd,

compos'd an army of 64,000 men; and, when

1742. Marshal Maillebois was joined at Amberg by the French and Bavarians, under Count Saxe and Count Seckendorff, his army consist'd of 70,000 men. The French marshal had positive orders to avoid coming to a battle, and to endeavour to effectuate a junction with the army under the Marshals Brozlio and Belleisle; who, by the Austrians quitting the siege of Prague, might have an opportunity of retiring from that city, and had orders, on the 14th of September, from M. Amelot, one of the secretaries of state, at all events to join Marshal Maillebois, and bring back the two armies from Germany, safe and honourably into France. Marshal Maillebois, intending to enter Bohemia, quitted Amberg; and, after making a circuit, on the 16th of September, entered Bohemia near Plana, arriving within three German leagues of the Austrian camp at Hayd; who immediately held a council of war, wherein it was determin'd, to attack the French and Bavarians. The two armies were now in sight of each other; and the Austrian detachment, destin'd for the attack, was ready to march up to the French, when the attack was suddenly countermanded. The Austrians, on the 18th, made a movement towards the rear, to gain an eminence in the neighbourhood of Plana; which the French perceiving, detach'd a body of 6,000 horse and foot, to observe their motions. General Nadaſti, at the head of 2,000 Croats and 1,500 hussars, attack'd this body of French, and forc'd them to fly with precipitation; but they soon rallied, retreating very regularly, and with little loss.

THE

THE French marshal turned to the left, and marched towards Egra, taking his rout through a woody mountainous country, where it was impossible to force him to an engagement; and, finding it practicable to prevent hazarding a battle, the marshal sent Count Seckendorff, with all the Bavarians, and a detachment of French troops, being 12,000 men, towards Bavaria, to take this opportunity of expelling the few Austrians, under General Bernklau, out of the electoral dominions. Prince Charles, being apprehensive that the garrison of Prague would force their way through the Austrians that formed the blockade, sent orders to Prince Lobkowitz, to leave only 4 or 5,000 hussars in the neighbourhood of Prague to harraßs the garrison, and to advance towards Pilsen with the rest of his troops. In the mean time the grand army moved after the French, and were often so close at their heels, that there was sometimes nothing but a small river between them; so that there were continual skirmishes between detachments from the two armies. Prague was now entirely free, and the garrison had repossessed themselves of Melnick, and some other adjacent places; of which Marshal Broglio had sent intelligence to Marshal Maillebois; who, soon after, received further advice, that Marshal Broglio had marched, with 12,000 men, from Prague, and was arrived in the circle of Leutmaritz, where he posted himself, and waited for the arrival of Marshal Maillebois. On this information, Marshal Maillebois quitted his strong camp at Pramhoff, on the 24th in the evening, marched all night; and, on the 26th, arrived, with his army, near Egra; from whence he continued his march to Chulm, to facilitate his junction with

PART with Marshal Broglio. The Austrians closely

III. attended Marshal Maillebois; and the Grand

1742. Duke and Prince Charles, perceiving his design

to march from Egra, and knowing, that to make their junction with Marshal Broglio practicable, the French must march through several defiles in the circle of Saatz, between Egra and Leutmaritz, they resolved to get possession of those passes and defiles. For this purpose they detached General St Ignon, with a body of troops, to join Prince Lobkowitz in the circle of Saatz, and prevent Marshal Broglio from marching towards Egra; while the Austrian grand army, instead of following Marshal Maillebois directly to Egra, turned off to the right, and, by an extraordinary march, possessed themselves of all the defiles and passages of the mountains, before Marshal Maillebois, who had made a forced march to Kadan, could come up; but, when he found himself thus disappointed by the diligence of the Austrian army, he abandoned his design of joining Marshal Broglio, and returned back to Egra; while Marshal Broglio was obliged to retreat towards Prague. From Egra, Marshal Maillebois passed through the upper Palatinate towards Ratibon, and from thence he marched and passed the Danube, about the beginning of November, to take up his winter quarters in Bavaria; but was closely followed by the Grand Duke, Prince Charles, and Marshal Khevenhüller, at the head of the Austrian army; who, soon after, also passed the Danube, in pursuit of the French.

UPON the retreat of Marshal Maillebois from Egra, the Marshals Broglio and Belleisle, leaving a garrison of 1,000 men at Leutmaritz, and some small garrisons at other places, returned to
Prague

Prague, and were followed by the Austrian army under Prince Lobkowitz; who took the important post of Leutmaritz, made the garrison prisoners, and seized on very large magazines which were intended to be carried to Prague; the Prince, as he advanced, dispossessed the French, and made himself master of all their out-posts; and, after their reduction, renewed the blockade of Prague.

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WHILE the junction of the French was thus fortunately prevented, by the prudence of the Austrian commanders; the troops, left under the command of General Bernklau, in Bavaria, were exposed to the more numerous French and Bavarians, under Count Seckendorff, who had been detached by Marshal Maillebois, before his march to Egra, to re-enter Bavaria, and dispossess the Austrians of all their fortified places in the electoral dominions. The Count, having passed the Danube at Keilhim, on the 17th of September, advanced towards Landshut; he surprised that fortress on the 23d, and carried it sword in hand, the garrison being made prisoners of war: after which he marched directly to Munich, to attack General Bernklau, who was then in possession of that city. The Austrian general, not having a sufficient force to oppose the imperial commander, retired from Munich, upon the 24th at night, and marched towards Passau, having carried almost every thing that was valuable at Munich along with him. Marshal Seckendorff entered the Bavarian metropolis on the 25th, and then marched in pursuit of the Austrians; but General Bernklau took such precautions, that he suffered very little, besides the loss of a few waggons, in his retreat; and, arriving at Passau, pitched on such advantageous

PART posts, that Marshal Seckendorff could neither
 III. venture to attack him, or attempt to enter Austria; which, by the position of General Bern-
 1742. klau, was securely protected.

THE French under Marshal Maillebois, having passed the Danube at Ratibon, and the Austrian grand army below Straubingen, the former were continually attended by the Austrian irregulars, who daily cut off great numbers of the French. The grand duke, having received intelligence that there were 800 Bavarians in Deckendorff, a town situate on the Danube, 37 miles S. E. of Ratibon, on the 12th of December, ordered Baron Trenck, with a detachment of his pandours, to march and summon them to surrender. The Baron marched all night, and in the day halted in the woods, so as to keep his march concealed, as much as possible, from the Bavarians; and the night following, making a forced march, arrived at Deckendorff two hours before day, on the 14th. He went up to the ferry, and attacked an out-post guarded by forty men, whom he drove away directly, made five of them prisoners, and seized three large boats belonging to the ferry, laden with wine, brandy, and cheese. Baron Trenck was informed by the prisoners, that there were only 500 men in garrison, amongst whom were too Bavarian free companies, most of them deserters from the Austrian army. The baron immediately invested the town, and kept the garrison blocked up, though consisting of four times the number of his pandours, for the space of four days; during which time, he held them constantly at bay with feint approaches, attacks, and other stratagems, till the Austrian van guard, consisting of 6,000 men, came up; when the garrison surrendered at discretion:

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cretion: and there being seventy-three deserters in the town, they were all delivered up to their several regiments, and suffered that exemplary punishment their crimes deserved.

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THE French had been greatly diminished by their fatigues, in endeavouring to pass over the impenetrable mountains of Bohemia: this diminution was greatly increased in their retreat, as they were constantly harrassed by the Austrians; and to this was now added, the severity of a cold and inclement winter. This army of 58,000 men, exclusive of the 12,000 under Count Seckendorff, thus miserably butchered and destroyed, by sword, famine, and hardships, were now reduced to only 27,000; and these in perpetual danger of sharing the same destruction, in a country already wasted by the passage of friends and foes; and, thus environed by the Austrians, though they made a difficult struggle for their security, yet were reduced to the lowest extremities.

THE court of France thus met with an unexpected disappointment: an expedition so fruitlessly expensive, in which the lives of so many thousands of their best soldiers were so vainly wasted, gave the French monarch the greatest concern and anxiety. This failure was attributed to the misconduct of Marshal Maillebois, as the generality of the French nation depended upon his effectuating the junction of the two armies, because his force was superior to the Austrians; but, as this force was now so greatly inferior to the other, the French ministry resolved to send a more experienced general, to receive the command from Marshal Maillebois. For this purpose, they dispatched a messenger to Marshal Broglio, ordering him to make his escape from

PART Prague, and repair into Bavaria, to assume the

III. command of the army there: Marshal Broglio, on the 4th of November, disguising himself in the habit of a courier, made his escape through Saxony, and, arriving in Bavaria, received the command from Marshal Maillebois, who was recalled and disgraced.

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GENERAL BERNKLAU, having joined the grand army of the Austrians, it now consisted of 70,000 men; and Count Seckendorff, having joined Marshal Broglio, he had only about 40,000 men under his command: the two armies continued inactive till the 22d of November, when the Austrians attacked, and retook Landshut, the garrison, consisting of 550 men and sixteen officers, partly French and partly Bavarians, having surrendered prisoners of war. The grand duke, after the retaking of Landshut, returned to Vienna, leaving the command of the army to his brother Prince Charles, under the direction of the great Khevenhuller. From that time, the two armies made several marches and countermarches, upon the Iser and the Inn, the Austrians seeking, and the French avoiding a battle; several skirmishes happened, but nothing considerable was attempted by either till the 30th, before which time Marshal Broglio was reinforced by 10,000 French, and 6,000 Bavarians, when the Austrian army invested and began the siege of Braunau, a town on the river Inn, 25 miles S. W. of Passau, where Count Seckendorff had left a garrison of 3,000 men. As this was a post of great consequence, for covering winter quarters in Bavaria, it was resolved by the French and Imperial generals, to attempt raising the siege at any risk. Upon the approach of the Austrian army before Braunau, the garrison made

made a smart fire upon them from the cannon of the place, which was well pointed. This annoyed the Austrians for some time, till their artillery coming up, they bombarded and cannonaded the place; and, having made a breach, a detachment of grenadiers, and other foot, was ordered to storm the town. Baron Trenck had 400 men under his command, all with cuirasses on, who were to commence the attack against the covered way; and the grenadiers were to follow them: but, just as they were advanced within forty paces of the pallisadoes, orders were sent them to retire; which was owing to an oversight of one of the Austrian generals, in an account sent to Prince Charles, of the advanced posts of the French, wherein he had put a cypher of 12,000, instead of 1,200, when mentioning some succour that had been sent into the garrison. In the mean time, the whole French and Bavarian army began their march, which they continued all night, and approached Braunau on the 3d of January; whereupon the Austrians quitted the siege, and retired to their strong camp near Scharding. Marshal Broglio found his army in so bad a situation, that he was reduced either to hazard a battle, in hopes of victory; or to behold the utter destruction of his forces by a thousand miseries: he therefore marched up to Scharding, with a design to attack the Austrians in their camp; but, on reconnoitring it, the French marshal found they were too strongly situated, and that the Austrians had a better scheme to pursue, than to venture the fate of a battle, though they were above 12,000 men superior to the French and Bavarians: on which, the armies began to separate for winter quarters; the French and Imperialists in Bavaria, and the Auf-

PART Austrians in upper Austria, Passau, and some

III. adjoining parts of Bavaria, of which they remain-

1742. ed in possession; so that their hussars had an opportunity to make incursions into the electorate the whole winter.

DURING these operations in Bavaria, Marshal Belleisle, and the garrison of Prague, were so closely blocked up by Prince Lobkowitz, that, after making three unsuccessful sallies, they had already suffered extraordinary hardships, and in all probability must soon have been reduced to the last extremity, if they had not been preserved by the prudence and vigilance of their commander, who had received further orders from the French ministry, to protect his army, and conduct it, together with that upon the Danube, securely into France. Marshal Belleisle too visibly perceived the distresses of his army, and exerted all his abilities to effectuate that remarkable retreat from Prague, which will perpetuate his memory, with an equal lustre to the most celebrated generals of his age. Though the severity of the winter had rendered the roads almost impassable, yet this enterprising commander, had formed a plan to quit Prague; and as he conceived the highest probability of deceiving the Austrians, and accomplishing his scheme, he was determined to put it into execution, rather than continue immured within the walls of Prague, which was no more than a spacious prison, the country being entirely exhausted of provisions, and the garrison daily diminishing, more by the effects of famine, than from the swords of the Austrians. The French marshal was too able a politician, than not to discern that the whole success of this surprizing enterprize, must entirely depend on the strictest secrecy of his intentions;

entions; and he took such circumspect precautions, as to have collected all the necessary preparations, without giving the least suspicion, not only to the inhabitants, but even to his own troops, who neither of them entertained the least surmise of such an attempt, till it was put in execution. On the 15th of December, every thing was in readiness to forward the design; and, still to conceal it from his troops, the marshal gave out, that he intended to make a general sally: in pursuance whereof, a quantity of ammunition was delivered to the soldiers, and all the horses in the town were seized, and distributed to the respective corps. In the evening, after the gates were shut, orders were given to have every thing ready for a march on the 17th in the morning. He then projected two stratagems; the one, to prevent the Austrians obtaining immediate intelligence of his departure; and the other, to distract their councils, when they should have advice of his march. With the first view, he detached, early in the morning of the 16th, fourteen squadrons of horse, to reconnoitre the country, as if a general forage was intended: and, to effect the latter, he dispatched a courier with a letter to Monsieur Desfalleurs, the French minister at Dresden, informing him, that he had marched with part of his forces, and left Count Baviere, with a garrison of 6,000 men, besides the sick and wounded, who he expected would be able to maintain the place till May; and this letter was contrived to fall into the hands of the Austrian general. At noon all the gates of the city were shut, and no person permitted to go out. At ten at night, a detachment, of 900 men, was made from all the battalions, and posted, under the command of Monsieur

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PART *sieur Chevert, to amuse the Austrians with the*

III. *appearance of a garrison, and to assist the sick*

and wounded, who were upwards of 3,000.

1742. All the rest of the troops were immediately under arms; and, at one o'clock in the morning of the 17th, Marshal Belleisle left Prague, at the head of 11,000 foot, and 3,200 horse, with thirty pieces of cannon, ammunition, and provision for twelve days; carrying away with him sixteen of the principal inhabitants, as hostages for the security of those that he left behind; also several waggons loaded with contribution money, and the richest plunder of the city. The French commenced their march with the greatest silence and privacy imaginable, and continued it with the utmost expedition and diligence, the severity of the season would admit; the snow being, at that time, extremely deep, whereby the roads were rendered almost impassable. Prince Lobkowitz had notice of this the next day, and immediately dispatched his light horse to seize upon the defiles of the mountains, pursuing them with all his hussars, and four regiments of horse; but the French gained the defiles before the Austrians; and Marshal Belleisle, concealing his rout, instead of taking either of the great roads from Prague to Egra, struck off by a way between both, and was not so greatly incommoded by the Austrian hussars, as otherwise he might have been, arriving at Egra in twelve days, after encountering the most excessive hardships and fatigue, from the obstacles of nature, amid desolate mountains; the men perpetually covered with snow in the day, and all the night suffering the rigour of an intense frost. By these hardships many of the French deserted, above 800 men, and most of their horses, lay perishing in the

the snow, unable to proceed on their march, while a much greater number were cut to pieces or taken prisoners, by the Austrian hussars, who continually harassed their retreat, and seized the greatest part of the French baggage, took all their artillery, and waggons loaded with the plunder of Prague. Though the French lost about 3,000 men in this hazardous retreat; it was universally allowed to have been executed with all imaginable prudence and resolution; and that the French marshal, on this occasion, exerted all the bravery and experience of an accomplished commander.

PRINCE LOBKOWITZ, having pursued them for several days, returned to Prague on the 22d; and on summoning the garrison to surrender, a conference, with the commandant Monsieur Chevert, ensued; who demanded that all the general officers, besides those of the garrison, and the garrison, and all belonging to it, should march out with their baggage, and all the honours of war, without being subject to any sort of reprisals; which was refused; but, on the 26th, a capitulation was signed, whereby it was agreed, "That such of the garrison, as were
" in a condition to march, should retire to Egra;
" but that all the sick should remain prisoners
" of war. That all the effects belonging to
" the Emperor and the French King, should
" be consigned to the Queen of Hungary; but
" that the equipages belonging to the officers,
" should not be meddled with; and that it should
" be free for all the Imperial and French officers, who were prisoners of war, and upon
" their parole in Prague, to march out with the
" garrison." In consequence of this capitulation, the French evacuated the citadel on the

PART 28th; and the garrison, consisting of 1,200

III. men, marched out, on the 2d of January, leaving upwards of 2,500 sick and wounded prisoners behind them; and were conducted to Egra, from whence Marshal Belleisle sent back the sixteen hostages he had carried from Prague.

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THE Queen of Hungary now saw her capital of Bohemia, abandoned by the French and Bavarians; and the whole kingdom was soon afterwards free from those invaders, that had laid waste and turned the whole country into a miserable scene of poverty and devastation. Marshal Belleisle having halted awhile at Egra, and having sent the remainder of his baggage towards Amberg, set out from Egra with the survivors of his army, on the 30th of December; and entering the Bavarian Palatinate, took up his quarters near the river Naab: while Count Saxe, with a detachment of 10,000 French, advanced from Deckendorff on the Danube, to Gravenau on the confines of Bohemia; at the same time a body of French horse took post at Cham and Neuperg; and Marshal Belleisle, being joined by both these detachments continued his rout through the circle of Franconia, arrived at Spire, and soon afterwards entered France.

MARSHAL BELLEISLE, as a reward for his zeal and fatigue, was highly intitled to the favour of the French monarch; but on his arrival at Metz in Lorraine, he received, by a courier, the royal order to defer his journey to Paris; though he soon after was permitted to make his appearance at court, where he met with so cold and indifferent a reception, that he immediately retreated into the country. The true reason of this, might probably arise from the disappointment

ment of the king; who, finding the general discontent of his people, occasioned by the ill success of his arms; and from his natural impatience on hearing the least imputation of dishonour thrown upon his troops, was incensed against Marshal Belleisle, as the original projector of a scheme, now ominously presenting the most dismal apprehensions, to those, who had formed from it the most unlimited hopes that vanity or ambition could suggest. Indeed, the French nation had just reason to murmur at the event of this expedition, for which such immense sums had been squandered in all the courts of Europe; and from which, out of two great armies, amounting together to more than 70,000 men, not more than 20,000 had the felicity to see their native soil again; besides, the few that survived the incredible fatigues they had sustained, brought back rather weakness to their king, than security to his frontier; filling his wretched subjects with grief, dejection of spirit, detestation of such ambitious views, and terror at the miseries they had endured; which every man, capable of bearing arms, by the absolute power of their government, and the distress of their affairs, saw himself likewise hourly in danger to undergo.

WHILE the French were thus expelled from the kingdom of Bohemia; the dominions of her Hungarian majesty in Flanders were securely protected by the assistance of his Britannic majesty. For, immediately on the march of Marshal Maillebois from Westphalia to the relief of Prague, pursuant to the resolutions agreed on between the ministry of London and Vienna, the Hanoverian troops, consisting of 16,268 men, began their march from Hanover, on the 31st

PART of August, and passed the Weser, in their way
 III. to Flanders; for which country the 6,000 Hef-

1742. sians, in British pay, began to move about the same time; these two bodies of troops obtaining a free passage through all the territories of the respective princes and states in their way, except the Bishop of Liege, and joined the British forces at Brussels, about the middle of October; near which city they encamped, and formed an army of 38,000 men. As the arrival of his Britannic majesty was expected in Flanders, to take upon him the command of this army; 12,000 Austrians were draughted from the garisons of Mons, Charleroy, Aeth, Dendermonde, and Luxembourg, with an intention to augment the British army to 50,000 men. This alarmed the French; who, on the first appearance of the British troops in Flanders, had openly completed the fortifications of Dunkirk; and expecting, if his Britannic majesty should take the command of the forces, that he would certainly besiege Dunkirk; this obliged them to form a camp in that neighbourhood of 20,000 men, and thereby prevented them from sending any succours to the Spaniards in Italy; and their apprehensions of an attack in the Low Countries, was the chief reason that made the French so impatient for the return of the army, commanded by Marshal Belleisle.

To attack the French in the Low Countries, according to the opinion of the great Duke of Schomberg, is the same thing as seizing a bull by the horns; yet the French were, at this time, sensible of the weakness of their frontiers, and trembled for their security. By the great reduction of their troops and finances, the French ministry would have been eager to recover breath,
 and

and gain a restoration of strength, by concluding a temporary peace between the Emperor and her Hungarian majesty; but they were suspicious such a favourable transaction could not be accomplished; for the ministry of Versailles had received information, that the Duke d'Aremberg, commander of the Austrian forces in the Low Countries; being perfectly acquainted with the pretended moderation of the court of France, had induced the court of Great Britain to take a resolution, with respect to attacking some of the frontiers of France, by making it apparent, that there being no longer any question about preserving all that belonged to her Hungarian majesty, there was no other way of protracting the war, than by making her hope that her troops might gain other advantages, and establish her in a better condition to exact the most favourable terms from her dejected enemies; but as these hopes were incompatible with her force, there would still remain no other step to take, but an immaterial peace, at least, if England should refuse, by the junction of her troops in Flanders, to put it in the power of her Hungarian majesty, totally to ruin those of France in Bavaria, and at Egra in the corner of Bohemia, where General Festitz had blocked them up, and deprived them of any supplies of provision. The French ministry were informed, that, upon this representation of the Duke d'Aremberg, his Britannic majesty had consented to this last project, or rather to that of penetrating into the heart of France, by Lorraine or Champagne, without laying down his arms, till the Elector of Bavaria was forced to abdicate the imperial throne in favour of the grand duke, and till the Queen of Hungary was put in possession of Alsace and Lor-

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Lorrain, or obtained some augmentation of her dominions, equivalent thereto. The French had further intelligence, that the Hungarian queen had, on her side, also engaged, that as soon as this should be effected, she would be content to leave the duchies of Parma and Placentia, and something more, if it was necessary, to the disposition of Great Britain; to the end, that by yielding these dominions to Don Philip, the English might obtain either settlements in the Spanish West Indies, or such new advantages in trade, as the British court should think proper to accept.

BUT however advantageous such a scheme might appear at this particular time, it was easily foreseen, that the future consequences must naturally tend to draw the arms of France into those parts, where she would soon be too powerful for the British and Austrian troops; and, from auxiliaries, engage the British nation as principals, in a destructive land war: though there were other, and stronger objections, against the commencement of such an enterprize; of which the length of the march from Flanders into Bavaria and Bohemia, the rigour of the season, and the difficulty of finding provisions in a march where they had not any magazines, were not the least; besides, endeavouring to oblige the emperor to abdicate, was in effect, a declaring war against the whole empire, and might draw upon the Queen of Hungary, the arms of Prussia, which France would not fail to solicit on such an opportunity, notwithstanding the treaty of Breslaw; and, of whom it was to be apprehended, that though he would sit quiet while the war was carrying on in Germany with equal advantages, and consequently with equal diminution

nation to all parties; yet, if it should so happen, CHAP.
that one of the parties, and especially the house V.
of Austria, should incline the ballance a little
too much on her side, he would immediately 1742.
put an end to the war by an armed mediation;
and that, for the same reason, he would never
admit the house of Austria to possess itself of the
dominions of Bavaria, much less of the imperial
crown.

THE French ministry acted with the greatest
security, and begun to fortify Givet, Philipville,
Avennes, and Rocroi, where they put strong
garrisons, and laid up great magazines: while
the Earl of Stair quitted his negociation at the
Hague, and arrived at Ghent on the 27th of
November; on which the Austrian troops began
to defile towards Luxemburgh; and the rout of
the British, Hanoverian, and Hessian forces,
were determined. But the French ministry were
soon relieved from their anxiety, having been
informed by M. Bussy, their ambassador at Lon-
don, that his Britannic majesty's voyage to Flan-
ders, and the measures concerted for commenc-
ing operations, were entirely laid aside for this
campaign; because the Dutch threatened to de-
clare against those who should strike the first
blow in Flanders: and they afterwards found
the expedition was absolutely vanished; for the
confederate army, without effecting any thing,
were ordered into winter quarters; the British
and Hessians in Flanders, the Austrians in Lux-
emburgh, and the Hanoverians in the county
of Liege, without seeking the permission of the
bishop; who had presented a protest to the impe-
rial diet at Francfort, against their passage from
Hanover through his territories: and the troops
con-

64 *The Conduct of the Powers of Europe,*

PART continued in their quarters, being in readiness to
III. march in the spring, where it should appear most
convenient for assisting the Queen of Hungary,



CHAPTER VI.

Reflections on the SPANISH invasion
of the AUSTRIAN dominions in
ITALY. Provisional treaty con-
cluded between their HUNGARI-
AN and SARDINIAN majesties;
and the campaign in ITALY.

CHAP. VI. **T**HERE is no injustice, no absurdity,
VI. which ambition, when united with power,
will not both commit and justify. History fur-
1742. nishes no instances, of nations plunging in a war,
upon the principle which the Spaniards had last
year transported an army to invade the Austrian
dominions in Italy, and revive the ancient king-
dom of Lombardy, in favour of the second In-
fant Don Philip: but to claim a sovereignty for
such a prince, to the prejudice of another fami-
ly; and, in defiance of the most solemn treaties,
to endeavour at making an establishment for
him, by force of arms, was a stretch reserved
for

for those times that saw the heiress of Farnese
upon the throne of Spain. Don Philip was in
the 20th year of his age, when, on the 25th of
October 1739, he was married to the Princess
Louisa Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of France:
he was already High Admiral of Spain, a post,
that in his hands, might be thought sufficiently
lucrative for the younger son, or brother, of a
great monarch; when, upon his marriage, and
the death of the Emperor Charles VI. the ambi-
tious project was formed of creating him a sove-
reignty, out of those very dominions, which,
a few years before, had been guaranteed, whole
and entire, to the house of Austria: besides the
crown of Spain, to which Don Ferdinand, his
eldest paternal brother, was the indisputable heir;
he already saw Don Carlos, his elder brother of
the whole blood, in possession of the crown of the
Two Sicilies: the church had amply provided for
his younger brother, Don Lewis, in the cardi-
nalate of Bourbon, and by his election to the
two opulent bishopricks of Toledo and Seville,
which afforded a princely revenue: and when
three of the sons of Spain were thus provided for,
their mother was not content that the fourth
should remain without a sovereignty; though
the preferments he might have obtained in
Spain and France, would have supported his
dignity; where, in all human probability, he
might be certain of always living the son, or the
brother-in-law, of the reigning monarch.

WHATEVER claim in Italy, or elsewhere, his
Catholic majesty had to the succession of the
Emperor Charles VI. that claim, if any could
be admitted, must have descended to his eldest
son Ferdinand: in like manner, if the sons of
the queen had in her right, as niece and heiress

PART of the late Duke of Parma, any claim to the
 III. Farnese succession of Parma and Placentia, that
 1742. claim must have devolved to his Sicilian majesty,
 as the elder brother of Don Philip. But, if it
 insisted on, that the most sacred right can be
 alienated, the alienation made by the infant, a
 consort of Lewis XIV. and great-grandmother
 to the present race of Spanish princes, ought to
 have been effectual; since no instrument was
 ever executed, or ratified, with more solemnity;
 and, admitting this, none of the house of Bour-
 bon could have any right to possess the least part
 of the succession of Charles II. the late King of
 Spain, and Philip V. must be considered as an
 usurper. And if, after all, it had been urged,
 that the right of Philip V. though long disputed,
 was at length allowed, by the treaty of 1721, by
 the Emperor Charles VI. and from that time,
 at least, Philip became legal possessor: yet, ad-
 mitting all this, it is by no means apparently suf-
 ficient to support the claim of his children in
 Italy: for the same public acts which recognized
 Philip for King of Spain and the Indies, also
 recognized the emperor for sovereign of the Mi-
 lanese, Naples, and the Netherlands; excluding
 the house of Bourbon from every thing before
 held by the house of Austria in Italy. So that
 one or the other of these positions must be right:
 either those solemn acts of recognition were of
 perpetual obligation, or they were not: if they
 were, no son or successor of Philip could have a
 right to what he renounced for himself and his
 posterity: if they were not, the claim of her
 Hungarian majesty, as heiress of the house of
 Austria, was again open to the whole Spanish
 monarchy, as much as the opposite claim could
 be to those parts of it that were dismembered
 in

in favour of her father; and, in particular, she CHAP. VI. had an undoubted right to the re-possession of Naples and Sicily; which, after having been solemnly ceded to her father, were forcibly wrested from him, in violation of treaties, to form a settlement for Don Carlos; who, if he ever should succeed to the Spanish crown, as he probably might, must again unite those kingdoms to the crown from which they were thus separated for the common benefit of the European powers. If it had been added, that the mother's right to Parma and Placentia, upon the death of her uncle; and to Tuscany, upon the extinction of the family of Medicis; was separated from the claim of her consort to the Milanese: though this was true, it could have been of no effect; since Tuscany was given to the Duke of Lorrain, and Parma and Placentia devolved to the late emperor, by agreement; in consideration of leaving Don Carlos in quiet possession of the Sicilies. So that put the most plausible constructions on the pretences of Spain against the Austrian inheritance in Italy, the injustice and absurdity were evidently notorious.

WHEN Spain, in conjunction with France, had formed the design of procuring, for the Infant Don Philip, a kingdom in Lombardy, these two crowns first addressed the King of Sardinia to concur in their measures; and being sensible, that without his consent, this project had little probability of proving successful, they made him the most advantageous offers to acquire his friendship. The King of Great Britain and the Queen of Hungary, were no less sensible, that the situation and strength of the dominions of his Sardinian majesty, made it impossible to attempt

PART tempt any important transaction in Italy, especially in Lombardy, without his concurrence; and

III. therefore proposed at Turin, such engagements, as were directly opposite to the proposals of France and Spain; each party was heard; the interest of the court of Turin was found exactly correspondent with the security of the Queen of Hungary, which lay, in repelling any endeavour of exalting a prince of the house of Bourbon to a sovereignty in Lombardy: but, though he was self-interested in the preservation of the Austrian dominions, his Sardinian majesty, conscious of the necessity of his service, demanded several important cessions from the Queen of Hungary, and considerable subsidies from the King of Great Britain, before he declared absolutely in their favour; which these monarchs complied with, as they found his friendship too important to be rejected, on any moderate conditions. Accordingly, on the 1st of February 1742, a provisional convention was concluded between their Hungarian and Sardinian majesties, whereby it was recited, “ That it was sufficiently evident, “ That the Spanish troops which had landed in the states of the Præsidii, and were “ advancing in the dominions of the Pope, in “ order to join those of Naples, and from thence “ to pursue their march as far as Imola, were “ bent, according to certain intelligence, towards Lombardy: and, as they must necessarily very much effect the King of Sardinia, “ as well as the Queen of Hungary, their majesties had thought, by the means of the Marquis d’Ormea, and of the Count de Schulenburg, they being respectively provided with “ the necessary full powers, of concerting and “ agreeing upon the following articles, under “ the

“ the hopes of their being ratified and accept- CHAP.
“ ed. VI.

I. “ THAT, the forces of her Hungarian
“ majesty alone, which were then in Italy, ap- 1742.
“ pearing sufficient to make head against the
“ aggressors, they should be brought together,
“ in order to march towards them, and to give
“ an immediate check to their progress; and
“ particularly to cover the states of Modena and
“ Mirandola, which are, as it were, a bulwark
“ to the dominions of the Queen of Hungary
“ in Italy.

II. “ THAT, the King of Sardinia should,
“ in the mean while, have a considerable body
“ of his troops upon the frontiers of his domini-
“ ons, towards the borders of the Milanese, and
“ of the duchy of Placentia, which should be
“ disposed in such a manner, as that they might
“ be brought together in a short time; and in
“ case the forces of the aggressors should come
“ to be augmented, and that there should be
“ cause to fear a new invasion on any other side,
“ as was probable, according to the advices that
“ had been received, that a second convoy of
“ Spanish troops had already set sail at Barce-
“ lona, and that they were to land in the har-
“ bour of La Spezia, his majesty should then
“ co-operate with all his forces for preventing
“ the body of Austrian troops, which should
“ have marched forward, from being either
“ taken in flank, or intercepted by that new
“ reinforcement of Spanish troops; and to that
“ end, all the passages in the states above-men-
“ tioned, and principally, the places of Parma,
“ Placentia, and Pavia, should remain free and
“ open to the Sardinian troops, for their conve-
“ nience and security.

III. “ THAT

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III. "THAT, as to what related to further, motions, and such other military operations, as might be afterwards undertaken, as they must depend upon the circumstances which fell out from day to day, it was necessary to refer them to the concert which should be entered into, in proportion to the circumstances which should happen; and for that purpose, his Sardinian majesty should send one of his general officers to the Hungarian army, and the Queen of Hungary should send one of her general officers likewise, to reside with the King of Sardinia: to which general officers should be reciprocally communicated, all the advices that should be received about the enemy; and all the resolutions which should be taken on either side, should be concerted with them.

IV. "THAT, nothing being so necessary towards obtaining the end desired on each side, as the reciprocal security of the respective possessions and rights, and a confidence in the good faith of the parties, who were to cooperate towards the same end; the King of Sardinia promised, upon the faith and word of a prince, to the Queen of Hungary; first, that, for as long time as the present provisional agreement should last, he would not avail himself of his pretended rights to the state of Milan, which were not entered into in this provisional convention, forasmuch as the Queen of Hungary could not admit them, and the King of Sardinia, on the contrary, thought them founded; and secondly, That if it should be necessary that his Sardinian majesty should enter, with his forces, into any one of the states abovementioned, he
" would

“ would not exercise in the same any act of CHAP.
“ sovereignty, and would not, in any wise, VI.
“ hinder the Queen of Hungary from continu-
“ ing to exercise them in the same manner, that 1742.
“ she had hitherto done; neither would his
“ majesty exact any contribution, and would
“ content himself in the same case with being
“ furnished with such things as were indispensa-
“ bly requisite to an army; as for instance, for-
“ age, wood, quarters, carts, beds, caserns,
“ and straw, the rations whereof should be re-
“ gulated upon the foot on which they were
“ usually allowed to his troops; as also horses,
“ mules, and oxen, for the use of the artillery,
“ and victuals.

V. “ THAT, on the contrary, the Queen
“ of Hungary declared, in the like solemn
“ manner, that it was not her meaning that the
“ above-said promises of the King of Sardinia,
“ nor the execution of them, should prejudice
“ the rights by him pretended to the state of
“ Milan; nor ever to avail herself of them, so
“ as to infer, from thence, that the said rights
“ were no longer subsisting; the intention of the
“ two high contracting parties, being, to pre-
“ serve to each of them their respective rights
“ in their full force, in such manner as they
“ might appertain to them, independently of
“ the present convention.

VI. “ THAT it was likewise in this view,
“ that the King of Sardinia reserved to himself,
“ expressly, the entire liberty of availing him-
“ self of his said rights, at whatever time, and
“ by whatever means, either by himself singly,
“ or by such alliance as he should judge to be
“ most for his convenience.

VII. “ THAT,

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VII. "THAT, as his majesty did not mean to acquire any advantage by the said reservation, and designed to proceed with all the good faith which was natural to him, he promised and engaged, in the case above-mentioned, not to act himself, nor to permit any prince, with whom he might be allied, to act, (which his majesty would take care to stipulate, as a principal condition, in any treaty whatsoever, which he might conclude) sooner than after the space of one month, from the time that he should have caused notice to be given by the means of the general officer, which he should have at the Queen of Hungary's army; to the end that the commanding officer of the Austrian troops, being thus put upon his guard, might take such measures and resolutions, as he should judge most for his advantage.

VIII. "THAT the King of Sardinia promised, in that case, to make his troops evacuate all the dominions of the Queen of Hungary, and all the places and posts, which he should have taken possession of during the present provisional agreement, without carrying any thing off; to the end that the troops of the queen might, during the said month, retake, freely, and without any hindrance, the posts which they should think proper.

IX. "THAT the present convention should be ratified, and the acts of ratification should be exchanged within the term of twenty days."

THE 15,000 Spaniards, under the command of the Duke de Montemar, who had last year landed at Orbitello in Tuscany, had taken up their quarters in the ecclesiastical state; and, by another

another embarkation at Spezia, a small town in the republic of Genoa, were augmented to 40,000 men. On the approach of spring, they began to move towards Lombardy: whereupon the King of Sardinia published a manifesto, setting forth, "The ambitious views of the crown of Spain, by extending her conquests in Italy, and her designs to invade the Milanese; and that, since the court of Madrid persisted to disturb the tranquility of Italy, his majesty thought himself bound to support, with all his force, the Queen of Hungary in her possessions in that country." As soon as this manifesto was published, the Spanish minister was recalled from the court of Turin, and the Sardinian ambassador took his audience of leave at the court of Madrid, when the Queen of Spain said, "Tell your master, my son shall be King of Italy, whether he will or not." His Sardinian majesty, in the beginning of March, entered the Milanese, with an army of 30,000 men; and, being joined by 17,000 Austrians, under the command of Count Traun, the united army consisted of 47,000 men. With these forces the King of Sardinia resolved to enter directly into the Ecclesiastical state, to attack the Spaniards; and, marching into the duchy of Parma, sent a message to the Duke of Modena, to desire a free passage through his dominions, inviting him to join the Austrians with a body of his troops; but the duke answered him, "That his inability to oppose the passage of the Sardinian and Austrian forces through his territories, obliged him to comply with that part of the message; but, that otherwise, he was determined to observe an exact neutrality." After this, his Sardinian majesty and Count
VOL. II. K Traun

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PART Traun arrived at Placentia; and, on the 21st,
 III. settled measures for opposing the progress of the
 Spaniards, having obtained permission of the
 1742. Pope to enter the Ecclesiastical territory, when
 it should appear necessary.

In the mean time the Spaniards assembled at Rimini, a town in the Ecclesiastical territory, situate on the gulph of Venice; where they were joined, in the beginning of May, by a body of 20,000 Neapolitan troops, under the command of the Duke de Castro Pignana, and formed, all together, an army of 60,000 men, with a train of forty pieces of heavy cannon, which came by sea from Naples to Ancona, a sea-port town on the gulph of Venice. About the middle of May, the Duke de Montemar entered the Bolognese, encamping within two leagues of Bologna; from whence he repaired to Modena, the capital of that duchy, situated 20 miles N. W. of Bologna, and 40 S. of Mantua, and privately concluded a treaty of alliance with the duke, who was to assist the Spaniards with the Modenese troops, and to assume the command from the Duke de Montemar.

THE duchy of Modena is bounded by Mantua on the north, by Romagna on the east, by Tuscany and Lucca on the south, and by Parma and Genoa on the west; its length from south to north, is about 84 miles, and its breadth 45. The city of Modena is the capital, 35 miles S. E. of Parma, which lies in a plain on the river Secchia, is pretty large, and, when the fortifications are kept in repair, of considerable strength. The country is both pleasant and plentiful, abounding in silk, corn, wine, rich pastures, and delicious fruits. The country yields a yearly revenue of 100,000*l.* to the duke; who has his residence

residence in a most magnificent palace, and lives with a state and elegance little inferior to any monarch in Europe. This prince, who is uncle to the Chevalier St George, was now in the 44th year of his age; and, having married the Princess Charlotte, daughter of Philip II. Duke of Orleans, was much inclined to the interest of France; but, as his forces were very inconsiderable, his country lies always at the mercy of an army that appears superior in the field; he therefore professed a neutrality, till he thought himself secure beneath the shelter of the Spanish army, imagining they were able to protect him, and his dominions, from the resentment of the Austrians, in which he afterwards found himself too vainly mistaken.

For the King of Sardinia, having removed his head quarters to Parma, and received information of the treaty concluded between the Duke of Modena and the Spanish general, on the 7th of May, dispatched the Marquis d'Ormea, his prime minister, to that prince, requiring him to disarm his troops, and deliver up the possession of the cities of Modena and Mirandola, to the Austrians; upon which conditions his dominions should be unmolested, and carefully protected. The duke, relying on the assistance of the Spaniards, rejected these proposals; and the Austrians and Piedmontese entered the duchy, seized all the open country, and formed a camp at Reggio, a city fifteen miles N. W. of the city of Modena. The duke, too lately, perceived his mistake, for the Spanish army had been much weakened by sickness and desertion, and the Duke de Montemar, though he was advanced to the borders of the Modenese, was afraid to pass the Panaro and give battle to the

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PART Austrians and Piedmontese. The Duke of Mo-

III. dena, finding it impossible to be relieved by his

new allies, having recommended his children to
 1742. the protection of his Sardinian majesty, and
 leaving garrisons in Modena and Mirandola, on
 the 28th of May, quitted his capital, and retired
 to Ferrara, a city under the Ecclesiastical go-
 vernment, twenty-eight miles N. E. of Bologna;
 from whence he set out for, and assumed the
 command of, the Spanish army: though, as all
 the proceedings were left to the determination
 of a council of war, the real authority remained
 in the Duke de Montemar, who entirely directed
 the Duke of Modena.

His Sardinian majesty sent a detachment, of
 10,000 men, to invest the city of Modena; on
 whose approach, the garrison retired into the
 citadel: and, the trenches being opened on the
 10th of June, the garrison, consisting of 3,000
 men, after a short resistance, surrendered prisoners
 of war. On the 21st of July the Austrians
 appeared before Mirandola, and summoned the
 garrison, who capitulated on the 23d, having
 permission to return to their respective abodes,
 upon condition never to bear arms against the
 Queen of Hungary, or King of Sardinia, dur-
 ing the war. Thus the Duke of Modena, by
 fatally interesting himself with the Spaniards,
 was unfortunately dispossessed of his dominions;
 which were sequestered, and put under the ad-
 ministration of Count Christiani, in the name of
 the Queen of Hungary; who refused to re-deliver
 them to their sovereign, unless he complied
 with terms, he deemed too severe for his accep-
 tation.

WHILE the King of Sardinia was complet-
 ing the reduction of the Modenese dominions,
 the

the Austrian hussars entered the Bolognese, and greatly incommoded the Spaniards; which occasioned the Duke de Montemar, on the 17th of June, to decamp by night, and return towards Farenza; where they made but a short continuance: for, apprehending a speedy pursuit from the Austrians and Piedmontese, they retreated to Rimini, and posted themselves in a strong camp in the neighbourhood of that town.

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HIS Sardinian majesty, after leaving garrisons in the cities of Modena and Mirandola, on the 25th of July, entered the Bolognese at the head of the combined armies, of the Austrians and Piedmontese; and, on the 31st, encamped at Imola, a city of the province of Romania, seventeen miles east of Bologna. His majesty, determined on compelling the Spaniards to an engagement, quitted the camp and advanced to Forli, a small city, twenty miles north of Rimini; but as the Spaniards and Neapolitans were greatly reduced by sickness, and in the utmost want and necessity for provisions, they endeavoured to avoid a battle; and marched, on the 9th of August, from Rimini to the kingdom of Naples; and his Sardinian majesty entered and took possession of their camp.

HIS Sicilian majesty, having joined the Spaniards with a body of Neapolitan troops, seemed to disregard that neutrality he had hitherto professed; but the Queen of Hungary was soon protected from such an enemy, by the assistance of the British fleet. Vice-Admiral Matthews, who at this time commanded the British navy in the Mediterranean, had particular instructions to attend the conduct of the ministry of Naples, and, on the first appearance of their endeavouring to

assist

PART assist the Spaniards, was ordered to compel them
III. punctually to observe the strictest neutrality.

— This admiral, soon after his arrival in the Me-
1742. diterranean, finding the Spanish army in Italy
 had been reinforced by a body of Neapolitan
 troops, he detached, in the beginning of Au-
 gust, Commodore Martin in the Ipswich, hav-
 ing under his command the Panther Capt. Gide-
 on; the Oxford Capt. Pawlett; the Faversham
 Capt. Hughes; and the Dursley Galley Capt.
 De l'Angle; with four bomb vessels and four
 tenders; with orders to proceed to the bay of
 Naples, and to communicate to his Sicilian ma-
 jesty a message from the King of Great Britain,
 which was "That as his Britannic majesty was
 "in alliance with the Queen of Hungary and
 "the King of Sardinia; and the King of the
 "Two Sicilies having joined his forces with
 "those of Spain, in declared war with England,
 "to invade the Queen of Hungary's dominions,
 "contrary to all treaties; he, the commodore,
 "was sent to demand, that the King of the
 "Two Sicilies should not only immediately
 "withdraw his troops from acting in conjunc-
 "tion with those of Spain; but that his Sicilian
 "majesty should, in writing, promise not to
 "give them any further assistance of any kind
 "whatever;" and the commodore was further
 ordered, "That if his Sicilian majesty should
 "refuse to comply with this message, that then
 "he should make the necessary dispositions to
 "bombard the city, and enforce his demand by
 "the force of arms." The commodore pro-
 ceeded on his command; and on Sunday morn-
 ing being the 8th of August, with his squadron
 appeared in the bay of Naples. The city of
 Naples, the capital of his Sicilian majesty's do-
 minions,

minions, stands on an eminence, rising gradually from the sea to a moderate height, on a fine bay of thirty miles diameter, being seven miles in circumference within the walls, and of equal extent without; containing about 300,000 inhabitants: the buildings are magnificent and elegant, but the city has no remarkable fortifications; and as the shore is bold enough for large ships to approach close to the keys, this situation exposes them, at all times, to the insults of a formidable naval force; because, against such, their armed galleys can make no resistance. At the approach of such warlike ships the inhabitants were in the utmost dread and consternation: the squadron did not come to an anchor before the town till four o' clock in the afternoon; and, some hours before, the Duke of Montecallegre, the secretary of state, sent to Edward Allen, Esq; the British consul, to desire him to go aboard the commodore, to know whether they came as enemies, the appearance seeming, to him, hostile; but said, that his Sicilian majesty would be glad to receive them as friends, desiring nothing more than the amity of his Britannic majesty. The consul, upon this representation, went on board the commodore; who communicated to him the purport of the orders he had received from Vice-Admiral Matthews, and the above message to be delivered, in the name of the King of Great Britain, to his Sicilian majesty. The commodore appointed Capt. De l'Angle to deliver this message, and desired the consul to accompany the captain to be his interpreter: they went to the secretary's office at five o' clock; the king was then at church, and was not to return till six; but the Duke of Montecallegre received the message, and told them, that, when
the

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PART the king returned, he would give the answer.

III. Accordingly, at eight, the Duke de Monteallegre came down from the king in council, and told them, the demand would be complied with, and in writing, as required ; but desired to have some answer also in writing, importing, that upon such a compliance no hostilities should be committed on either side. Capt. De l'Angle and the consul returned on board the Ipswich, with General Bourke, who was sent from his Sicilian majesty to desire this answer of the commodore ; who said his orders were absolute, and did not authorize him to give any answer, but that he expected a compliance in half an hour, or, at farthest, an hour, after the consul and captain had been on shore. The consul and captain returned with General Bourke on shore again, and delivered the answer from the commodore to the Duke of Monteallegre ; who then desired that he might insert in his letter, that, upon the verbal assurances of the consul and captain that no hostilities should be committed, his Sicilian majesty had complied with the demand of his Britannic majesty, in the form prescribed by his commodore. Capt. De l'Angle desired the consul to tell the duke, that he apprehended the commodore would not be satisfied with this condition ; upon which the duke desired the consul to assure the commodore, that if he objected to it, it should be left out, and that the substance of the letter being fully what was required, he hoped it would be sufficient for that night. It was two hours past midnight when the consul returned on board, and the commodore was so far satisfied, as to promise he would not commence any hostilities, upon the assurances given him by the consul, that any thing

thing he objected to in the form would be altered; and accordingly in the morning another letter was wrote in the exact words required, which was as follows.

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SIR,

Naples, Aug. 20, N. S.

"THE king had already resolved, and given orders, that his troops which are joined with those of Spain, should withdraw, in order to the defence of his own dominions. His majesty commands me to promise you in his name, that he will, forthwith, repeat his orders, that his troops withdrawing from the Romagna, where they are at present, shall immediately return into this kingdom; and that he will not, in any manner whatsoever, either aid or assist those of Spain any more in the present war in Italy.

"Signed;

"The Marquis of Salas,

"Duke of Montcallegre,

"To Capt. William Martin,

"commander of the English Squadron.

UPON the receipt of this letter, the commander ordered all the ships to prepare for sailing; they were under sail before night, and out of sight next morning, having been only twenty-four hours in the bay; whereby the inhabitants, who had all been in the greatest alarm and confusion imaginable during the negotiation, were relieved from their terror and anxiety of a bombardment.

THE exaction of this neutrality was of the most seasonable and important service to the

PART Queen of Hungary; as it saved the loss of the

III. ballance of power in Italy, and proved the subsequent ruin of the Spanish army in that country:

1742. for the annual revenue of his Sicilian majesty, amounting to one million sterling, as he can immediately raise, so he can easily, for a time, maintain an army of 30,000 men; besides, his nobility and gentry holding their lands by military tenure, he has constantly a numerous militia; and, on receiving a sufficient supply of money from the Spanish treasury, he might be able to bring a much more numerous army into the field, and render himself little inferior, if not equally formidable, to the King of Sardinia. This was also such an exertion of the British force, as plainly discovered of what weight it might afterwards be, in that part of Europe, in a much higher degree than was formerly known: for it cannot be conceived that a son of Spain, who had been so lately raised to the regal dignity, solely by the expence of the blood and treasure of the Spanish monarchy, would, in this extremity, have patiently deserted the forces of that crown to whom he owed all filial duty, all human gratitude, and all princely fidelity.

SINCE the removal of Sir Robert Walpole from his ascendancy in the British councils, the new ministry were as ardent to assist the Queen of Hungary with their maritime, as they were with their land forces: their Mediterranean fleet now acted with so much vigilance, that the Spanish ministry found it impracticable to transport another army in security to Italy; but as they were sensible, if the Neapolitan troops were compelled to abandon the Spaniards, that such a considerable loss must expose the Duke de Montemar to the danger of being defeated by a superior

superior force; they determined to send another body of troops to his assistance, who were to march through the south of France, and endeavour to penetrate into Italy, through the passes of Piedmont. Accordingly, in April, a body of Spanish troops, consisting of twenty battalions and twenty-eight squadrons, making in all 17,300 men, assembled at Barcelona, under the command of the Count de Glimes, and passed through the south of France; and being joined in their march, by some other Spanish corps and some companies of Catalonian miquelets, the army was augmented to 30,000 men. On this reinforcement, the whole army marched through Provence, and rendezvoused at Grace, a city in that province, fifty two miles N. E. of Toulon, and fifteen miles S. W. of Nice; waiting for the arrival of Don Philip; who, in May, with his court, and a very splendid retinue, entered Antibes, the last town of France towards Italy, nine miles west of Nice.

His Sardinian majesty received intelligence of these motions and the situation of the Spaniards under Don Philip, and though he was impatient personally to hasten to the defence of his own dominions, yet, at present, this was an impossibility, as his departure from the Ecclesiastical territory, would have left the Spaniards, under the Duke de Montemar, at full liberty to force a passage either into Tuscany or the Parmesan: as this monarch suspected that the intention of Don Philip was to penetrate into Piedmont by the way of Nice, he took every necessary precaution to render this design abortive, by defacing the roads and keeping the strong passes sufficiently guarded.

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IN the beginning of June, Don Philip put himself at the head of his troops, then encamped at Grace; though the Count de Glimes still continued his rank, as a tutor to this young prince on his first introduction into the field of war. Their intention was, as his Sardinian majesty had suspected, to force a passage by Nice into the Piedmontese; but, through his prudent dispositions, and the vigilant assistance of the British Squadron on that coast, the Spaniards found their designs impracticable and laid it aside. However, in August, a strong body of miquelets, was sent to the valley of Barcelonetta, about forty miles north of Nice, to attempt a passage by Demont into the valley of Stura; but they met with a warm reception from the Piedmontese, who guarded the defiles, and retired with considerable loss; for the Alps are a sufficient barrier to secure Piedmont on the side of France, and as there are but few passes, and those of difficult access, the Spaniards wanted another Hannibal to conduct them over these impenetrable mountains.

WHILE Don Philip was thus vainly endeavouring to enter the Piedmontese dominions, his Sardinian majesty obliged the Spanish and Neapolitan army to abandon their enterprize, and retreat, through the Ecclesiastical state, precipitately from Rimini, towards the kingdom of Naples; and the Neapolitan troops being recalled, he had now an opportunity of returning into his own dominions, to defend the passages into his principality of Piedmont, and duchy of Savoy; and accordingly, with 24,000 of the Piedmontese troops, quitted the Austrians under Count Traun in the camp near Rimini, and marched, with the utmost expedition, towards Turin, the capital

capital of Piedmont, and residence of his Sardinian majesty.

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ON the departure of the Piedmontese troops, the Austrians returned into the duchy of Modena; and, as soon as the Duke de Montemar was informed of this separation, his army, though greatly reduced, resumed their courage, notwithstanding their being forsaken by the Neapolitan troops, in consequence of the neutrality exacted by the British commodore; and, instead of continuing their retreat to Naples, advanced back again to St Nicholas, within ten miles of Bologna; where the Duke de Montemar resigned his command to the Count de Gages; though the Duke of Modena still retained the title of generalissimo, who had a considerable pension allowed him by the court of Madrid, as a present compensation for the loss of his dominions.

THIS Count de Gages is the nobleman mentioned by the celebrated English Horace, in the following beautiful verses;

The crown of Poland, venal twice an age;
To just three millions stinted modest Gage.
But nobler scenes Maria's dreams unfold,
Hereditary realms, and worlds of gold.
Congenial souls! whose life one av'rice joins,
And one fate buries in th' Asturian mines.

POPE.

FROM the pen of this elegant satyrist, might have flowed many noble reflections on the vicissitudes of fortune, and prevalence of ambition, so exemplarily instanced in the life and conduct of the Count de Gages. This nobleman was married to an English lady, sister of the late Marquis of Powis; and, in the year 1719, acquired
a for-

PART a fortune of thirteen millions sterling, in the Mis-

III. *Mississippi stock of Paris*; which so much intoxicat-
 ed him and his lady, that they sent a gentle-
 man to the late Augustus King of Poland, to

1742. make him an offer of three millions sterling for that crown, which his majesty refused; after which, the count sent another person to the late King of Sardinia, to offer him a prodigious sum for the royalty of that island, which that monarch likewise rejected. The count, after this, was advised to send 400,000*l.* to England, to purchase an estate to support him, in case the Mississippi scheme should prove a bubble, which it soon afterwards did; and the count was utterly impoverished. This nobleman and his lady afterwards retired into Spain, where they went in search of gold in the mines of Asturia; but made little advantage of this project. However, being persons of good address, they were well received at the court of Madrid, and had considerable employments conferred on them by the crown.

On the 12th of October, the Count de Gages marched with his army to Bologna, where he received a reinforcement of six regiments from Naples: but Count Traun, quitting his camp at Buon Porto, and passing the Panaro in order of battle, obliged the Spaniards to retire. The Ecclesiastical territory was too much exhausted to supply the Spanish army with provisions, during the winter quarters; and the British fleet prevented them from receiving any supplies by sea: this occasioned the Spanish general to form a design to march and take up his winter quarters in Tuscany; but Count Traun, having discovered his intention, made a march towards the Spanish army, as if he determined to attack them,

them, which was only a feint to cover his design of sending 4,000 men into Tuscany, to join the forces of that duchy; who were assembling at Prato. Count Traun, having possessed himself of Bagni-de Poretta, caused it to be occupied by these 4,000 men; and, by means of this post, which is near the rise of the river Reno, he cut off the communication of the Spanish general with Lucca, and the territories of the republic of Genoa; being thereby also in a condition to prevent the execution of any designs upon Tuscany. As soon as this was effected, the Austrian general returned to his camp at Buon Porto, having, by this scheme, deterred the Spaniards from entering the Tuscan dominions. In this situation the two armies remained till the beginning of December, when the Spaniards took up their quarters in the Bolognese and Romagna; and the Austrians and Piedmontese in the Modenese and Parmesan.

ADMIRAL MATTHEWS, on his receiving further information, that his Sicilian majesty had sent a body of troops in his service to join the Spanish army; in December, dispatched Capt. De l'Angle, in the Dursley Galley, to Naples, with a letter expostulating on this breach of the late neutrality: his majesty, having advised with his council, returned for answer, "That he was resolved to adhere to his engagements; but, as these regiments belonged to his father, the King of Spain, and had been only lent to him for the expedition to Sicily, it was not in his power to retain them when recalled, as they were not in his pay or service." However his Sicilian majesty, imagining that this excuse would not satisfy the British admiral, ordered

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PART ed several batteries to be erected for the defence
 III. of the port of Naples.

1742. THE Spanish army, under Don Philip, finding it impracticable to force a passage into Piedmont, the Count de Glimes prevailed upon the prince to alter his measures, and attempt to enter Savoy, where they could meet with little resistance. Accordingly, towards the latter end of August, the army marched through Dauphine, and into Savoy, where the Infant Don Philip, on the 10th of September, took possession of Chamberry, the capital of that duchy, 90 miles N. W. of Turin; and immediately published a manifesto, enjoining the deputies of the province of Savoy, to come in and take the oaths to him; and to bring their arms and ammunition to his quarters, within the space of five days at farthest: prohibiting them to pay any more taxes to the King of Sardinia, or to have any correspondence with him, under the pain of death.

THIS manifesto had little effect; for the King of Sardinia, who was on his march from Rimini to protect his own dominions, entered Turin on the 8th of September; and, on the 10th of October, arrived, with an army of 30,000 men, at Conflans, a town 20 miles E. of Chamberry; and, approaching to the Spaniards, a few skirmishes happened between some small parties of the two armies, in which the Piedmontese troops had chiefly the advantage; which convinced the Spanish prince, and his council of war, that it would not be safe for them to risk a general engagement: and therefore they retired out of Savoy, with more precipitancy than they entered, and withdrew into Dauphine, where they took post under the cannon of fort Barreux; while his Sardinian majesty encamped in

in sight of them at Mians, near Montmelian, CHAP. VI.
on the frontiers of Dauphinet and in this position the two armies remained till the beginning of December. 1742.

THE King of Spain was extremely incensed at the conduct of the Count de Glimes, ascribing the loss of Savoy entirely to the slowness of his operations; and as the count had dispatched a courier to Madrid, to represent the impossibility of attacking the Piedmontese army, with the least appearance of success; as also the absolute necessity of putting his own troops into winter quarters, his majesty, therefore, sent the Marquis de la Minas, a bold and enterprising general, to take the command from the Count de Glimes, who resigned to the marquis on the 3d of December. This new general, having received a reinforcement of 10,000 men, immediately began to show his active spirit, by determining to attack the Piedmontese: but the King of Sardinia, on the 16th of December, being apprized of his design, to attack him the next morning, made the proper dispositions over night to receive him. On the 7th, his Sardinian majesty put his troops early in the morning, in order of battle, and impatiently expected to see the Spaniards approach; which they could not do, without passing through the high road that leads from fort Barreux to Chamberry: but as the Marquis de la Minas had reconnoitred the country, he perceived that such a passage would be attended with almost insuperable difficulties, and might expose his whole army to perish under such a disadvantage; he therefore laid so artful a scheme, as proved him to be an able and experienced officer. The Piedmontese camp was secured by the castle of the

PART Marches, the castle of Mians, and the castle of
 III. Apremont; these were three essential posts, and

the Spanish general was resolved to attack them.

1742. The two former could not be approached without the Spaniards being discovered from afar, and being exposed to the fire of the Piedmontese artillery, and taken in flank by their musket-shot, when they drew nearer. Therefore the Marquis de la Minas left the main body of his army in the camp at fort Barreux, and ordered a detachment of 4,000 regular troops, and 1,000 miquelets, to advance by a road through the mountains of Dauphine, where they could not be perceived; this detachment marched, on the French territory, till they came almost upon the mountain that commands the castle of Apremont, and within a small cannon-shot of it; there they began their attack, two hours before noon, making a continual and terrible fire of musket-shot, and small cannon, for forty-four hours. The little garrison, consisting only of 300 men, made a brave and vigorous resistance, refusing to surrender till the walls were tumbling about their ears, and they saw the petard fixed to the gate, with two small batteries in the flanks, on which they were obliged to surrender the place, and themselves prisoners of war; having lost 54 men and a captain, and having, on the other side, killed and wounded 250 Spaniards.

THE King of Sardinia, on his side, and on the mountains behind Chamberry, sent two detachments to drive the Spaniards, if possible, from their post, and rescue the castle. These detachments, at first, did wonders; and, could they have been supported and relieved by fresh men, now and then, might have succeeded. The greatest misfortune of the Piedmontese was,
 by

by their situation, which proceeded from the impossibility of knowing the motions of the Spaniards, till it was too late to prevent them, by their being covered in the mountains of Dauphine. As long as this was the case, and the main body of the Spanish army continued at fort Barreux, the King of Sardinia could not divide his forces, by sending detachments to the relief of Apremont, as they must have gone a great way about; and, before he could have recalled them, the body of his army might have been attacked by the Marquis de la Minas, who lay in wait to take that advantage: and, during this state of uncertainty, which lasted three days, the Piedmontese troops continued under arms, having passed three whole nights without their tents.

On the loss of this important post of Apremont, the King of Sardinia was obliged to abandon his camp at Mians, on the 17th of December, and retired with his forces to Montmelian, whence he marched, on the 18th, with his army, in two columns, towards St John de Maurienne and the Tarantaise, in order to withdraw into Piedmont. They were pursued by two considerable detachments from the Spanish army, who made themselves masters of some fortified posts at Aiguebelle, and harassed the rear guard of the Piedmontese; who, by this retreat, entirely abandoned Savoy to the Spaniards; where they exercised many unlimited disorders and enormities among the inhabitants: while Don Philip fixed his winter residence at Chamberry, waiting a further reinforcement from Spain, to enable him, in the spring, to penetrate through the fortified passes of Piedmont.

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III.
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His Sardinian majesty arrived at Turin on the 22d of December, where Don Philip sent to desire his majesty to agree to a cessation of arms, and offered him very advantageous terms to desert his alliance, and conclude a secret treaty with the crown of Spain; but his Sardinian majesty rejected every proposal of this nature, nor would he permit them to pass the deliberations of his council, saying, "That though he was not able to keep his dominions, he would still maintain his fidelity;" and even forbid all his ministers and courtiers, ever speaking to him of any alliances, contrary to those in which he was actually engaged; and his majesty published a manifesto, which was distributed to all the foreign ministers residing at his court, containing the reasons which obliged him to withdraw his army from Savoy, and cause it to return into Piedmont; declaring, "That he did not take this step, till he was reduced to the last extremity, and till after it was impossible for him to support himself, against an army greatly superior to the Piedmontese." At this time, the French minister strongly renewed his solicitations, to prevail on the King of Sardinia to abandon his allies, and favour the designs of Don Philip; adding, the most magnificent promises, and many solemn protestations of the interest of France to increase his possessions. The French even went so far in their promises at the court of Turin, that it was reported, a design had been formed at Paris, to put the city of Geneva into the hands of his Sardinian majesty, to induce him to violate his engagements with the house of Austria. This city is the capital of the Genevese republic, containing about 30,000 inhabitants, situated 45 miles N. of Chamberry, and

and adjacent to the duchy of Savoy and the territories of France, whose princes had long made some pretensions to the dominion of this city; but the republic were protected by their allies, the Swiss cantons of Bern and Zurich, against their attacks; and this report of the designs of France, made such an impression at Geneva, that the government thought proper to regulate, with the cantons of Zurich and Bern, the signals, that they are accustomed to make, in the times of the most imminent danger.

CHAP.

VI.

1742.

THAT the alliance of the King of Sardinia should be so strongly solicited by the courts of France and Spain, is not at all surprizing, when it is considered, that the predecessors of this monarch were so perfectly well acquainted with their own interest, as well as with that of those who required their assistance, that they scarce ever concluded a treaty without stipulating some considerable advantages for themselves; carested, sometimes by the house of Austria and its allies, and at other times by France and Spain, they always made advantages proportionable to their services; and, without neglecting their own preservation, they ever joined with that party, whence the greatest benefit might be expected; and, by such conduct and policy, since the time of Amadeus VIII. surnamed the Pacific, first Duke of Savoy, in 1416, they have gradually added to that duchy, the present dominions of his Sardinian majesty, whereby he makes the most splendid figure of any prince in Italy. Nor was Charles Emanuel, the present king, less sensible of his power, or more negligent of his interest; but, whatever solicitations were made, and whatever promises were given to his majesty, by France and Spain, these were all over-balanced

PART lanced by the influence of his Britannic majesty
III. whose name was of sufficient importance to make
 the weaker part most eligible, and to counter
 1742. ballance the force of immediate interest; and
 this is evident by the letter which, immediately
 after his retreat from Savoy, the King of Sardinia
 wrote to his Britannic majesty, wherein he
 took notice, " That persons, who were desirous
 " of rendering suspicious the most faithful exact-
 " nels in fulfilling engagements, would not fail
 " of endeavouring to cause this retreat to be at-
 " tributed to other motives, than those as men-
 " tioned in his manifesto, which were actually
 " the true ones; and expected that his Britannic
 " majesty would be, more than ever, persuaded,
 " of his unshaken fidelity to the engagements he
 " had entered into, not only with his Britannic
 " majesty, but likewise with the Queen of Hun-
 " gary, for the mutual defence of their dominions
 " in Italy."



CHAPTER VII.

The negotiations between the several
 belligerent powers, during the
 campaign.

AT the conclusion of this campaign, the ministry of France found their aspiring project of subjugating the house of Austria greatly retarded, if not entirely disappointed. This scheme

scheme was too perceptible to the King of Prussia, and Elector of Saxony, and too pernicious, to continue their animosity with the Queen of Hungary; and France had the mortification to behold these powerful princes desert her alliance, and renounce her friendship. Vain was laid every, captivating snare to trapan the King of Sardinia; he remained firm to his engagements with the house of Austria, and too inflexibly honest to be seduced by the magnificent promises of France. The Dutch were still irresolute: here the French exerted their utmost influence; they still supported a strong faction in the assembly, who, inspired by dæmoniac principles, strenuously opposed the natural interest of their country, and promoted the views of that formidable neighbour, whose capacious jaws had been long distended to swallow up the republic with the rest of Europe.

THE British ambassador at the Hague, still endeavoured to reclaim the corrupted regency, inspiring them to despise the gold of France, and unite in the general welfare of the State. For this generous purpose the Earl of Stair and Mr Trevor, on the 18th of August, presented a memorial to their high mightinesses, representing, "That his Britannic majesty had lately received very earnest and pressing instances, made him by the Queen of Hungary, for speedy assistance; and that he saw with horror, a new army of French, marching to destroy the house of Austria, and trample beneath their feet the liberties of Germany, under the ridiculous pretext of going to seek for peace.

"THAT, his Britannic majesty was too sensible of the consequence of the destructions of
" the

1742.

“ the house of Austria, and therefore was re-
 “ solved to lend all his forces to his ally the
 “ Queen of Hungary; and, at the same time,
 “ he most ardently exhorted their high mighti-
 “ nesses to concur with his majesty, in his salu-
 “ tary design, to save the house of Austria, by
 “ lending great part of their troops, in order to
 “ make, in conjunction with the British forces,
 “ a powerful diversion in favour of the Queen
 “ of Hungary, which was the surest and speedi-
 “ est method to obtain a good and general
 “ peace, or to avoid a long war, which must
 “ be always prejudicial to maritime powers;
 “ this the King of Great Britain declared to be
 “ his sole aim, on the faith and word of a king,
 “ and not the ruin and desolation of his innocent
 “ neighbours, though it was their misfortune to
 “ be guided by ministers, who had no manner
 “ of regard to public faith.

“ THAT, his Britannic majesty was ready to
 “ shew their high mightinesses, that the road
 “ which led to liberty, was not so difficult to tread
 “ in as some people would fain represent it to be:
 “ their high mightinesses had too much penetra-
 “ tion, not to see through all the pitiful artifices
 “ employed to disguise or conceal the danger
 “ which Europe was in: therefore his Britannic
 “ majesty, being so well acquainted with the
 “ courage, the wisdom, and generous senti-
 “ ments of the republic, could not doubt in the
 “ least but that their high mightinesses would
 “ imitate their glorious ancestors, in those shin-
 “ ing proofs they so often gave of their love of
 “ liberty, in bravely defending the liberties of
 “ all Europe, as well as their own.

“ THAT, the glorious design of setting Eu-
 “ rope free, and settling its liberty and tranqui-
 “ lity

"lity on a lasting foundation, never was so easy
"to be executed as it was at present; provided,
"that they skilfully improved the fair op-
"portunity they then had; which, if neg-
"lected, would, in all probability, never of-
"fer again."

CHAP.

VII.

1742.

In opposition to this, the Marquis de Fenelon, on the 23d of the same month, delivered a counter-memorial to their high mightinesses; wherein he represented, "That the British ministers still flattered themselves to be able to prevail upon their high mightinesses, to join with England in sending commissaries to Dunkirk, under the pretext of examining the situation of things there, with respect to the observance of what had been stipulated by treaties. That their high mightinesses would not doubt of the eagerness and confidence with which their commissaries would be received there; but a nation, who, by memorials which her ministers delivered in a solemn manner, plainly told, that she was resolved to act offensively, could she still believe herself in the same case with their high mightinesses, in regard to the liberty of sending to examine the nature of the precautions which France was taking at Dunkirk, when they were taken but with reluctance, and only to prevent the English, by means of the troops they had landed in Flanders, from seizing upon that town, and making a settlement there, which would not be less prejudicial to their high mightinesses, and to all remains of ballance of trade and navigation, than to France herself?

"THAT, without entering into further details upon this head, he would conclude with

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N

" what

PART “ what would put an end to all this dispute about

III. “ Dunkirk : that he was empowered, to offer

“ the consent of his court, to the putting the

1742. “ town of Dunkirk into the hands of their high

“ mightinesses, to be garrisoned by their troops

“ until the conclusion of a peace ; so that if the

“ Queen of Hungary, seconded by England,

“ should attack France in her frontier in the

“ Netherlands, none of the powers at war should

“ make use of Dunkirk, nor march their troops

“ on the territory of that town, nor on the

“ territory of Mardyke : but that a perfect

“ neutrality should be observed there, and main-

“ tained by the garrison thereof, which should

“ remain their high mightinesses during the

“ continuance of the war.”

THE States General saw through the design of offering them the possession of Dunkirk, and rejected the proposal with disdain ; because, if they had listened to such an offer, they would have exposed themselves to be led imperceptibly into that inaction, wherein it was the chief endeavour of France to keep them. The influence of France had visibly declined in the assembly ; the Dutch seemed roused from their lethargy ; and appeared ready to arm in the defence of liberty. They had lately made a third augmentation of their forces ; a considerable part of these forces had actually formed an encampment ; and, as a further corroboration that their pacific councils were frustrated, on the 8th of September, they made a great promotion among the generals and officers of the army.

NOTWITHSTANDING these formidable preparations, the Dutch were still averse to rush immediately into a war with France, and they were the longer continued in this disposition by
the

the artifices of the French ministry, and M. Van CHAP.
Hoey. The French ministry declared, that VII.
England laboured with greater warmth, and even 1742.
more hopes of success, than ever, to draw the
republic from her solid and salutary centre of re-
pose; only to throw her into the fire of a gene-
ral war, which, when once kindled, would al-
ways continue burning with the utmost vehe-
mence, in proportion to the supplies of combus-
tible matter furnished by the republic: and that,
to effect this, the British ministers not only abus-
ed the sacred sounds of religion and liberty, but
also made an ill use of the amiable name of
peace; as if religion and reason, left the least
doubt as to a truth, so generally acknowledged,
as, that peace is the greatest of all blessings be-
stowed by heaven, and that war is the heaviest
of all calamities; as if trampling peace under
foot, and running into the arms of war, were
the most salutary means for securing so great a
good, and keeping off so terrible a scourge;
although powerful nature had engraved in all
hearts this principle, that to be filled with a true
love of peace, and for mankind, and to demonstrate
this in every action, was the only way perpetu-
ally to preserve it. With such insinuations did
the ministry of France delude the republic; and
prevent the Dutch from espousing the cause of
liberty: while M. Van Hoey, the more to in-
timidate them from drawing the sword, repre-
sented, that the forces of France ought to be
considered as invincible when employed only in
her own defence; and reported that the French
troops could be immediately augmented to
400,000 men, and that the circulating coin was
thirteen millions of livres; he also asserted, that
the king could, by the sale of lands, from which

PART he then received little advantage, raise 300
III. millions of livres without laying any burthen on
 his subjects; from hence he inferred, that who-
 1742. ever was inclined to contend with this nation,
 ought to consider these accounts, and remember
 that there would be no medium between victory
 and ruin; and that this was more particularly
 essential for the consideration of the republic,
 because the infinite difference between establish-
 ing the tranquillity of Europe, by the sole wis-
 dom of the state, the glory which would accrue
 to the republic, the love, the gratitude, the ve-
 eneration, with which the bringing about such
 a peace must inspire all nations for the authors
 of so good an action, contributing so much to
 the strength of their present government; and
 between fomenting and nourishing, with the
 blood, and wealth of their subjects, so cruel a
 war, as must necessarily dissipate their reve-
 nues, and absolutely ruin their forces, left him
 no room to doubt that the state could hesitate, a
 single moment, which to chuse of these extremi-
 ties. From the relation given by M. Van Hoey,
 of the wealth and potency of France, many
 of the members of the Dutch republic found a
 specious and ample pretence to recommend a
 pursuit of pacific measures to the assembly;
 while others, despising these known artifices,
 exposed the fallacy of M. Van Hoey, alledging,
 with regard to the money, that though their
 ambassador had cited the records of the mint,
 and urged, that the value of money being
 greater in France than out of it, very little was
 exported; yet his account was evidently errone-
 ous, since the French had lately made war
 chiefly with money, by which large sums had
 been remitted to almost every part of Europe,
 and

and caused a great diminution to their wealth: CHAP. VII.
and to this might have been added, that it little becomes a politician to alledge, that the value of money is, or can be, greater where there is a superfluity, than where there is a scarcity; for money may be called by what denomination a government shall think proper, but the real price of money, as of any thing else, will always be diminished by its plenty. 1742.

THE British ministry perceived, that though the Earl of Stair had prevailed on the Dutch to arm, he could not remove their timidity of France, and engage them to take the field: but it was apprehended, such behaviour was only a coy bashfulness, which the republic would lay aside, as soon as ever she was convinced that the intentions of Great Britain were honourable. As the British ministry had conceived, that the only way to convince the Dutch of their integrity, was by entering, on their part, upon indissoluble engagements against France; this was the occasion they had so vigorously exerted themselves in forming the grand confederacy, hoping to inspire the Dutch with the spirit of their ancestors: and the British ministry, had even gone so far, in endeavouring to conciliate the affections of the Dutch, that what was originally a matter of choice, became a measure of necessity; as the army in Flanders was assembled, chiefly, upon a presumption that the Dutch, animated by such an example, would declare themselves principals in the war; without whose concurrence France would remain unmolested. Therefore Lord Carteret, who presided at the head of the ministry, set out, on the 20th of September, for Holland, to see if he could personally remove the diffidence and timidity of the

PART the Dutch : his lordship arrived at the Hague

III. on the 25th, where he immediately began to confer with the ministers of the republic, upon
 1742. these four propositions.

I. " To engage the republic to join with
 " Great Britain, and her allies, in making war
 " with France.

II, " To put garrisons in all the strong places
 " in Flanders belonging to the Queen of Hun-
 " gary, that she might be able to withdraw her
 " troops, and employ them in the field.

III. " To lend 30,000 men, of the troops of
 " the republic, to the Queen of Hungary,
 " which troops were to be in the pay of Great
 " Britain.

IV. " To conclude a new treaty of com-
 " merce between Great Britain and the Repub-
 " lic, to the advantage of the States."

BUT his lordship miscarried in all the points of his negotiation ; the States General answering to the first proposition, " That the war having
 " spread all over Europe, they would not, by
 " intermeddling with it, render it more bloody,
 " but would preserve their characters as medi-
 " ators for the common good." As to the second, they answered, " That the republic never
 " kept troops on foot but for her just defence,
 " and for the maintenance of the general tran-
 " quility." To the third, " That the republic,
 " since their independence, had never made a
 " custom of lending or hiring out her troops to
 " foreign powers ; but, on the contrary, had
 " taken troops into her own pay, when occasion
 " required it." As to the fourth, they answered,
 " That the States would be very glad to re-
 " ceive so sensible a mark of the friendship of
 " Great Britain, as this would be, of establish-
 " ing

"ing the commerce of both nations on a better
"equality, and consequently less prejudicial to
"Holland: that besides, they sincerely wished
"more strongly to combine the reciprocal band
"of amity between the two nations, by all just
"and proper methods: but that it was the in-
"violable maxim of the republic, not to make
"herself happy, without obtaining the same fe-
"licity for others; and, that she could not
"think of making her situation more advan-
"tageous, on condition to promote the war,
"and at the expence of the public welfare of
"Europe."

CHAP.

VII.

1742.

IF the Dutch had honestly and wisely caught the crisis of this ardour, they would have acted up to that prudence which ought to distinguish a free state, and to that honour which should adorn a grateful people, reared by the kindnesses, established by the cares, and saved by the arms of the British nation; but the gold of France was too prevalent for truth, honour, and honesty.

WHILE the British ministry were thus ineffectually soliciting the concurrence of the Dutch, they were successful in other negotiations, and concluded other alliances prejudicial to the interest of France. On the 18th of November, a treaty of mutual defence and guarantee was executed at Westminster, between their Britannic and Prussian majesties; whereby the former guaranteed the cession of Silesia; and the latter engaged to furnish his Britannic majesty with 10,000 men, whenever he should be attacked, either in his royal or electoral dominions.

THOUGH France had spirited up Sweden to engage in a war with Russia, the Swedes found their inability to resist the imperial arms; and solicited
for

PART

III.

1742.

for peace: the court of Petersburgh insisted upon severe conditions, and referred them to the mediation of his Britannic majesty. Accordingly, on the 4th of October, M. Wasenberg, the Swedish ambassador at London, having a private audience of his majesty, acquainted him, that he had received orders from the King of Sweden to desire, in his name, the good offices of his Britannic majesty, for putting an end to the war in the north, and procuring a safe and honourable peace between the crowns of Sweden and Russia; to which his majesty signified his acceptance.

THE court of Petersburgh, notwithstanding all the policy of France to prevent it, maintained the greatest cordiality with the court of London; and, on the 11th of December, Sir Cyril Wich, the British minister at the court of Russia, concluded a treaty with the Czarina, to continue for fifteen years; whereby it was stipulated, "That her imperial majesty should furnish the King of Great Britain, as soon as required, with a body of 12,000 troops, to be employed according to the exigency of affairs; and that his Britannic majesty should furnish Russia with twelve men of war, on the first notice; in case either of them were attacked by an enemy, and demanded such succour." This treaty was soon afterwards ratified by the contracting powers, and determined the influence of France at the court of Petersburgh.

WHILE their Britannic and Hungarian majesties were circumventing the projects of France, that crown was industriously seeking to avoid the weight that seemed likely to oppress it: and, when Marshal Maillebois began his march to Bohemia, the French ministry declared, in September,

tember, to M. Stainville, the ambassador of the Grand Duke of Tuscany at Paris, "That the Most Christian king was ready to accept the proposals made him in the name of that prince; that his troops should have orders immediately to evacuate Bohemia; and that, on the settling these preliminaries, Marshal Maillebois should be commanded to suspend his march, and return into Alsace." But the French ministry, who had lately the ambition to stile themselves sovereign arbiters of Europe, now had the mortification to supplicate for peace, and to find their propositions rejected: this occasioned the Cardinal de Fleury to say, "That self-love, pride, and the British councils, had gained such an ascendant over the spirit of the court of Vienna, that, without the least breach of charity, he thought he might safely declare, that all sentiments of good faith, justice, and equity, were there absolutely stifled and destroyed." The French ministry very copiously expatiated on their moderation, and no less on the ambition which they insisted was entirely predominant in the Austrian council; but it was well known the moderation of France was obligatory, and the ambition of the court of Vienna, if not merely a pretence of, was greatly exaggerated by the French.

THOUGH the Elector of Bavaria was supported by France when he ascended the Imperial throne, he had reason to condemn the policy that occasioned this elevation: his paternal dominions had felt all the extremities of military rigour, both from friends and foes; the elector expected, from the abilities of Marshal Broglio, to see his country revive; but in this he was disappointed: though if the French marshal had made himself

PART master of Passau and Scharding, the Austrians

III. must have quitted Bavaria in the winter; the
 { elector conceived this was in the power of the
 1742. marshal, and that he either neglected or avoided
 it: the emperor was discontent at such proceedings, he suspected the integrity of France, and remonstrated against her proceedings. The ministry of Versailles could not but be alarmed at the complaints of the emperor; they knew that their Britannic and Hungarian majesties had made strong seducements to draw his Imperial majesty from the influence of France; and, as men generally attach themselves to those from whom they hope the greatest advantages, the French thought there was nothing farther from impossible, than that the emperor would finally prefer the friendship of England and Hungary to his engagements with France; therefore the ministry applied all their skill to secure his Imperial majesty, and, by their insinuations, obtained a reconciliation.

THE Spaniards were certainly incited by the encouragement of assistance from France, to attack the Austrian dominions in Italy: and the Marquis de Castellar, their ambassador at Paris, demanded, when Don Philip first entered the French territories, in the strongest and most precise terms, a body of troops to join the Spaniards in Provence and Languedoc; and was promised a reinforcement of fourteen battalions: but the French, retarding the execution of this promise, occasioned the Spanish ambassador, in August, to present a memorial for obtaining it, who was answered, "That the troubles in Germany, the
 " defection of the King of Prussia, and the un-
 " happy situation of the emperor, had made it
 " impossible for the king to fulfil his engage-
 " ments

ments with his Catholic majesty till the ensuing spring, when he would grant him a proper assistance." This was at present resented by the court of Madrid, because France, having so powerfully supported the pretensions of the emperor, the Spanish ministry concluded she would not refuse her assistance to so near a relation.

CHAP.

VII.

1742.

FRANCE, finding all her negociations for obtaining a peace were ineffectual, began to put herself in the best situation for maintaining the war, by replenishing the treasury, recruiting the army, and procuring new alliances. The King of Portugal was addressed to oppose the Queen of Hungary: this monarch had married the Arch-duchess Mary Anne of Austria, second daughter of the Emperor Leopold, and aunt to the Queen of Hungary, and, in right of his consort, might have formed pretensions to a part of the Austrian succession, with as much justice as the other competitors. The ministers of France and Spain, at Lisbon, exhibited these circumstances in the strongest light; but his Portuguese majesty, disregarding all their importunities, persisted in his resolution of observing the strictest neutrality. This monarch was a consummate judge of his own interest; he knew the Spaniards considered Portugal as a state dismembered from their crown; and, for the commercial benefit of his kingdom, found it essentially requisite to live in amity with Great Britain, with whom he had formerly entered into a perpetual defensive alliance, and, in the late general war, had united in the confederacy against the crown of France; therefore his refusing to listen to any overtures which might prejudice his neutrality, was a conduct worthy

PART the character of a prince, who consulted the security and welfare of his subjects, more than the gratification of any personal interest, or motives of ambition.

1742.

THE subsidy treaty between his Britannic majesty and the King of Denmark was expired; this gave the French ministry an opportunity of exerting their influence at the court of Copenhagen, who had the address to succeed in their project; they prevailed on his Danish majesty to refuse a renewal of the treaty with Great Britain, and to conclude a treaty of subsidy with France for five years, at 600,000 crowns a year, and also to execute a new treaty of commerce between the two nations.

THUS terminated the campaign and negotiations in the year 1742. Saxony and Prussia were disjoined from the alliance of France, and with circumstances, that promised an impossibility of their uniting again during the present contention. Bavaria was not only incapable of affording any material assistance to the views of France, but actually a considerable part of it in possession of the Austrians: two great armies of the veteran troops of France totally destroyed; diseases and despair, the visible companions of the remaining forces of the Emperor and France, couped up in Bavaria and a corner of Bohemia, in the utmost distress for provisions, and not to be recruited till spring: while the Austrians, superior in number, were flushed with success, enriched with plunder, and enured to arms. The French ministry, detested and despised by their own people, for their ill success and ruinous measures: the Queen of Hungary repossessed of the greatest part of her dominions; and, of a treasure inestimable, the united hearts of all her subjects,

jects, moved to the greatest degree of tenderness CHAP. VII.
by her danger, and the injustice of her enemies, and warmed with the most fervent zeal by her gallant, firm, and prudent conduct. The King of Sardinia steady to his engagements, and infinitely serviceable in repelling the attempts of Spain: the Spaniards checked, foiled, and disappointed in all their Italian views; and the King of Naples bridled by the British fleet. Sweden confounded by French councils, and the just arms of Russia; courting the mediation of his Britannic majesty for their preservation; who, but the year before, had been led by France to disturb the peace of the north in contempt of Britain, and probably not without a remote view to her destruction: the Russians, sensible of the dissimulation of France, triumphant over the Swedes, and more than ever in amity with England! A great army in the British pay, fresh and ready to enter into action in the spring: the Dutch formidably armed, and almost ready to join the allies of the house of Austria: while the Turks, immoveable against the seducement of France, continued their faith to the Queen of Hungary, and thought of nothing but their own preservation against the attempts of Persia. 1742.





SECOND DIVISION.

The naval war in EUROPE and
AMERICA in 1742.



CHAPTER I.

Naval transactions in EUROPE, in
1742.

RT
I.
2.



IF Spain was deprived of any assistance from France in pushing her conquests in Italy, she found her marine greatly protected by that crown. France had at the head of her councils, a minister who knew how to make either peace or war, and both equally to the honour of his country ; this minister, though he entertained designs to the prejudice of the British nation, yet he, artfully concealed them as much, and as long, as he could, for the time he had England in the very situation he could wish for.
While

While Britain was maintaining great fleets, and numerous armies, this effectually answered the purposes of France; who, by supporting an interior navy, since the year 1740, had occasioned the British nation to expend immense sums, in their naval armaments, to disconcert the projects of the French, both in Europe and America; and the French, by putting themselves to moderate expences, impoverished the English more than if they were actually at war with France.

CHAP.

I.

1742.

THE Toulon squadron having protected the Spaniards from Admiral Haddock, and thereby enabled them to continue their course to Italy, and transport thither the troops and ammunition for attacking the Austrian dominions; after effecting this important service, the Spanish squadron retired to Toulon, where they continued under the protection of the French.

No sooner was the great change in the British ministry visible to Sir Robert Walpole, but Commodore Lestock, who had lately arrived from the West Indies, was sent with ten sail of men of war to reinforce Admiral Haddock, and make his force sufficient to oppose the united fleets of France and Spain. The commodore having joined the vice admiral at Port Mahon, on the 1st of February, the admiral made all possible diligence to put to sea, and scour the coasts of Italy, to intercept any succours that might be sent to the Spanish army, commanded by the Duke de Montemar. But, before the fleet was in readiness to sail, the vice admiral, upon account of his indisposition, owing chiefly to the dejection of his noble spirit by the restriction of his former orders, was obliged to charge the commodore with the command of the fleet, and return

PART return to England, where he arrived, in the

III. Roebuck man of war, on the 26th of May.

1742. COMMODORE LESTOCK made every preparation to get out to sea, with the utmost expedition, in order to the execution of the royal instructions he had received from Admiral Had-dock. Having appointed cruizers in proper stations on the coast of Spain, they had the good fortune to take and destroy several vessels laden with provisions for the use of the Spanish forces, and prepared with proper accommodations for transporting their horse to Italy. On the 12th of April the commodore set sail from Port Mahon, with a squadron of twenty-eight men of war, and soon after appeared before Toulon.

THIS town lies in Provence, and is the principal sea port of France, situated on a bay of the Mediterranean sea, 400 miles S. E. of Paris, 25 S. E. of Marseilles, and 80 S. W. of Nice: this is the station of the royal navy of France, where the largest ships are built, and the vast magazines of all manner of naval stores and timber for shipping are repositied. The place is strongly fortified both by land and sea, and held out a remarkable siege, in 1707, against the confederate forces, who were obliged to abandon the enterprize; though the British squadron, commanded by Sir Cloudesly Shovel, did considerable damage to the town, and destroyed eight men of war in the bay.

ON the appearance of Commodore Lestock before the town, the inhabitants were in the greatest consternation; the country was alarmed from the signal house, by a fire and twenty-eight signals; the seamen, belonging to the French and Spanish squadrons, who had permission to lie

lie on shore, were ordered to return on board ; CHAP. I.
the officers, both military and naval, were ordered to their respective posts ; and detachments of soldiers were sent to the batteries and fortifications along the coast. But the commodore had no intention of molesting them, for the united squadrons were superior to the British force ; the French squadron, under Admiral de Court, consisting of five 70 gun ships, seven of 60, four of 50, two of 30, and two of 20 ; and the Spanish squadron, under Don Navarro, consisted of one ship of 114 guns, four of 70, six of 60, and five of 50, being in all 36 men of war ; therefore Commodore Lestock, after observing their situation, proceeded towards Antibes, and the coast of Italy. 1742.

Soon after the arrival of Commodore Lestock in the Mediterranean, happened the revolution in the British ministry ; when Thomas Matthews, Esq, was made vice admiral of the red, and Commodore Lestock was promoted to the rank of rear admiral of the white. The new ministry were determined to exert the British force in the Mediterranean, and Admiral Matthews was ordered to proceed and take upon him the command of the squadron then under Commodore Lestock, and was also invested with the character of ambassador extraordinary, and minister plenipotentiary, to the King of Sardinia, and the princes and states of Italy. On the 16th of April the vice admiral set sail from Spithead, with four men of war, taking under his convoy the merchant ships for Oporto and Lisbon, and the Mediterranean, and soon after arrived at Gibraltar ; having, in his passage, taken several French and Spanish ships. Vice Admiral Matthews immediately proceeded to meet Rear Ad-

VOL. II. P miral

PART miral Lestock, and joined him in the harbour

III. of Villa-Franca, a port town of Italy, in the
 { principalty of Piedmont, and county of Nice,
 1742. subject to the King of Sardinia, situate three miles
 E. of Nice, and forty S. of Coni.

VICE ADMIRAL MATTHEWS, and Rear Admiral Lestock, had, both of them, been many years in the naval service, and were, both, officers of indisputable bravery and experience: the vice admiral, when he commanded the *Kent*, manifested his courage and abilities in the engagement off the Streights of Messina, in the year 1718, when Sir George Byng destroyed the Spanish Squadron; and the rear admiral was recommended to his majesty, by Sir George Byng, as one of the ablest quarter-deck officers ever bred at sea. But it was notorious, that not the least amity ever subsisted between these gentlemen; they had long indulged the rancour of an old animosity, and the vice admiral, before he accepted the command, even declared to the ministry, that he did it only upon condition, that the rear admiral should be speedily recalled: therefore, why the ministry should afterwards continue to entrust the command of so important a fleet, to officers, whom they knew it was impossible to reconcile in their private capacity, seems highly mysterious, if not totally culpable.

WHEN Vice Admiral Matthews arrived at Villa-Franca, the rear admiral not only saluted him with his own guns, but ordered all the ships in the fleet to do it, and went in his boat, out of the port, to meet him before he got in, paying him the most respectful submission: in return to which, the vice admiral immediately on seeing him, before Monsieur Corbeau the commandant of
 the

the county of Nice, and some field officers in the Sardinian service, as well as a great many captains of the fleet, who were then on board of him, without any regard to decency, or the rank and reputation of the rear admiral, began with reprimanding him; telling him, "He was surprized, that, as he had been so long in the royal service, he had not yet learned to comply with his instructions, in writing to him, and sending a frigate down to Gibraltar:" to which the rear admiral answered, "That he had done both, and if the vice admiral had not received his letters, nor met with the frigate; it was not his fault." Hence, from the first meeting of these commanders, their future dissensions were readily predicted.

CHAP.

I.

1742.

VICE ADMIRAL MATTHEWS was intent on guarding well the coasts of Catalonia, Provence, and Italy; and soon gave an instance of his resolution to act up to the spirit of his orders: for a French man of war, passing by Villa-Franca, in sight of the British fleet, and refusing to pay the compliment to the flag, the vice admiral fired at the Frenchman to bring to; but the commander, persisting in his obstinacy, a man of war was ordered out to force him to good manners, who, pouring a broadside into the French ship, sunk her directly. The British fleet, having been joined by Rear Admiral Rowley, was now somewhat superior to the conjunct squadrons of France and Spain, which the vice admiral was ordered to keep blocked up in the port of Toulon: for this purpose, on the 2d of June, the vice admiral ordered the Rear Admirals Lestock and Rowley on a cruize for six weeks, with twenty-four ships, off the islands of Hieres, to watch the motions of the French and Spaniards.

PART III. These are a small cluster of islands, opposite to the town of Hieres in Provence, and a little to the east of Toulon; the three principal, called the isles of Levant, Porteros, and Portquerelles, are inhabited, and tolerably fertile: the road is safe and the bay capacious, being advantageously situated that no ship can enter, or come out of, the port of Toulon, without being observed by ships on this station; where the rear admirals soon after arrived, with the British squadron, and, in a short time, took above thirty sail of merchant ships, bound to different ports in Provence and Languedoc, with necessaries for the Spaniards.

1742.

VICE ADMIRAL MATTHEWS, in the mean time, disposed the other part of his fleet in the most convenient stations for interrupting the Spanish commerce, and intercepting any supplies sent to their army in Provence; ordering his captains to seize every ship, of whatever nation, which they found carrying relief to the Spaniards. On their cruize, two of the British men of war fell in with a small number of barks, having French soldiers on board, going to relieve the garrison of Monaco, and conducted them to the vice admiral at Villa-Franca, who immediately released them. Capt. Norris, in the Kingston of 50 guns, and Capt. Callis, in the Duke fire-ship, upon their cruize, between Villa-Franca and the isles of Hieres, having received intelligence, that five Spanish galleys, laden with ammunition and provisions for the Spanish army, had sailed from St Margareta to St Tropez, a small town of Provence, with a good port, 30 miles E. of Toulon; Capt. Norris and Capt. Callis immediately followed them, with an intention to detain them there till Capt. Norris should receive orders

ders from the vice admiral how to regulate his CHAP. I.
behaviour; but the Spanish gallees having begun
to fire upon the British ships, and thereby broke
the rules usually observed in a neutral port, Capt. 1742.
Norris immediately gave orders to Capt. Callis to
set fire to them, which he executed and destroy-
ed them: while another part of the British squa-
dron, cruising on the coast of Catalonia, bom-
barded the towns of Mataro and Palamos, by
which great part of the buildings were destroy-
ed, and many of the inhabitants buried under
the ruins of their houses.

On the 3th of August Commodore Martin
compelled his Sicilian majesty to sign a neutra-
lity, and recall the Neapolitan troops from the
Spanish army in Italy. The vice admiral hav-
ing caused the British consul at Genoa, "To de-
" fire the senate, that they would forbid their
" subjects from carrying provisions to the Spa-
" nish Squadron on the coast of Provence, and
" that they would also deny the Spaniards a
" passage by land through their republic;" the
senate made answer, "That they resolved to
" maintain a strict neutrality; but as to the pas-
" sage of troops through their territories, they
" were not in a condition to oppose it, other-
" wise than by openly protesting against such as
" should attempt it without their consent." As
Vice Admiral Matthews had strong reasons to
suspect the infidelity of the Genoese, he was dis-
satisfied with this reply, and ordered his cruisers
to make strict observations on the conduct of the
republic.

THE vice admiral, having settled his cruisers
in the proper stations and consulted measures with
the Sardinian officers for securing the coast, ar-
rived at Hieres bay, which he had appointed for
the

PART the grand rendezvous, where the cruisers were
III. to victual, wood, water, and refit. The strength
 of the British fleet was but little superior to the
 1742. conjunct squadrons in Toulon; and this employ-
 ment required all the abilities of a prudent and
 vigilant commander, to prevent the French
 and Spaniards slipping another embarkation, on
 which depended the fate of Italy. Vice Admiral
 Matthews had now a laborious office as com-
 mander of the fleet; and his care and attention
 was increased by his bearing the character of ple-
 nipotentiary to the several princes and states of
 Italy, so that from four o'clock in the morning,
 till late at night, he was, while on board, ever
 employed in dispatching and receiving intelli-
 gence, and executing, according to different ad-
 vices, the wisest measures he could concert for
 the protection of Italy, which were his principal
 instructions. Many of the ships were foul, and
 could not be kept perpetually at sea, nor would
 their situation, nor the condition of the French
 and Spaniards, suffer the British admiral to send
 such ships to Minorca to be cleaned and refitted;
 this obliged the three-deck ships, being eleven
 sail, to lie constantly at Hieres bay, for fear of
 being crippled and disabled, as the consequences,
 in that case, might have been fatal, by giving
 the French and Spaniards a superior strength;
 but all the two-deck ships were continually em-
 ployed, at different stations, in supporting the
 British allies, and preventing the Spanish army,
 in Italy, from receiving supplies and reinforce-
 ments.

WHILE the vice admiral was on this sta-
 tion, he was informed that the Spaniards had
 collected some considerable magazines at St Re-
 mo, a Genoese town on the Mediterranean, about
 30 miles

30 miles N. E. of Nice; he dispatched Capt. CHAP. I.
Martin thither towards the latter end of August, who arrived in that road on the first of September, and immediately sent a party on shore to search for the magazines, which they found, and burnt 250 quintals of straw, and destroyed a great quantity of corn and flour, designed for the use of the Spanish army. After which nothing material happened this year in the British fleet, which continued their station off Toulon. Though many dissentions arose between the French and Spaniards on shore, especially after the English had destroyed the Spanish galleys in the bay of St Tropez; and duels were so frequent between the officers, that an order was made, forbidding them to meet at the same houses. The Spaniards were obliged to remain in this situation, for fear of the British fleet, and as the French were disinclined to hazard the fate of a battle, their inactivity was owing to their love of security.

THE new British ministry, in pursuance of the merchants petitions to both houses of parliament, had taken all possible care for the security of their commerce, by ordering several men of war to cruize in proper stations in the channel and about the coasts, to curb the insolence of the Spanish privateers. But all the vigilance of the British commanders could not prevent the Spaniards from greatly interrupting the British navigation; many of their privateers were fitted out in the ports of France, commanded, and chiefly navigated, by Frenchmen, under the sanction of Spanish commissions. A great number of these privateers belonged to the port of Dunkirk, where they carried many valuable prizes: several other British prizes were carried into the Dutch ports, and by this means the English

PART English merchants lost a great number of ships

III. in the British and German ocean, whereby their trade to Holland was greatly interrupted, and
 1742. even grew very precarious along their own coast :

besides, the Spaniards took and carried many considerable prizes into Vigo, Bilboa, and St Sebastian ; where the poor sailors suffered inexpressible hardships, being driven barefooted 100 or 200 miles up the country, lodged in damp dungeons, and allowed only bread and water ; but the allowance of 6*d.* a day, granted by the British government to every prisoner, was regularly paid them ; which supported these unfortunate men in their distress, and continued them in their honest resolutions, to resist all the hardships and temptations the Spaniards had exercised on them, to frighten or intice them from their fidelity to their king and country.

HOWEVER, many of the British commanders, both of the men of war and privateers, took several valuable prizes from the Spaniards, and destroyed many of their privateers ; while the masters of the merchant ships, bravely defended themselves, and were never taken but by a superior force.

THE Earl of Northesk, commander of the Loo man of war, being on a cruize off of Cape Finisterre, and the parts adjacent, received intelligence of a small privateer being at Porto Nova : upon which he stood in there, on the 30th of June ; but the privateer, discovering him, got higher up the river than the Loo could venture, and it falling calm, Lord Northesk was obliged to anchor close by the towns of Porto Nova and St Jago, into which he fired a few shot, then landed some men, and dismounted four guns, which were on a battery at Porto Nova ; and, having
 set

set fire to several houses in St Jago, proceeded on his cruise, where, on the 7th of July, his lordship met with the Deal-castle man of war, commanded by captain Elton ; and receiving intelligence of some vessels being at Vigo, they run up the river, and anchored before that town ; made prizes of four vessels, having fired several shot into the town, to cover the boats while they cut away the vessels, there being a smart fire at them with small arms from the shore. After this the men of war continued their cruise, and Lord Northesk, upon intelligence that the privateer was still about the river of Porto Nova, on the 19th of July, run in, and anchored under the island of Blydones ; where his lordship put a lieutenant and 60 men, with two six pounders, into one of the sloops taken at Vigo, and sent her up the river in quest of the privateer ; the sloop could see nothing of her, but, in her return, chased a bark on shore, and set her on fire : Lord Northesk then landed some of his men, and after burning a village of about forty houses, repaired to his station.

On the 7th of September, the Kinsale man of war, commanded by the Honourable Capt. Hamilton, being on a cruise off Dieppe, a port town of France, situate on the British channel ; and standing in shore, he saw a vessel lying to ; which, as soon as she perceived the man of war, made sail towards her, hoisting French colours : the Kinsale standing for her, they soon came within half gun-shot, where the crew hauled down her colours, intending to board the Kinsale, which they took for a collier ; but were soon sensible of their mistake, and struck to the English ; who found her to be a privateer, called El Santo Christo del portal y nostra Seniors de la Soledad de Portugalette, mounted with two carriage guns

PART and 13 swivels, having 58 men on board, and

III. 24 of them French, who had taken six prizes in the channel, and carried them into Dunkirk.

1742. ON the 7th of December, the Bridgewater man of war, commanded by Capt. Rogers, cruising 63 leagues to the W. of Scilly, at nine in the morning, fell in with a Spanish privateer, called the Santa la Rita, mounted with 18 carriage and 8 swivel guns, and carrying 140 men, lately come out of Bilboa : the privateer, being to windward, bore down upon the Bridgewater ; whereupon Capt. Rogers hoisted a Dutch ensign, hauled up his main-sail, and backed his main-top-sail ; but finding, soon after, that the privateer made sail for him, he hauled down the Dutch ensign, hoisted English colours, and gave her a broadside : upon this the privateer took down her English ensign, hoisted Spanish, made all possible sail from the Bridgewater, and fired her stern chase guns. Capt. Rogers crowded sail after her, and plied her with his bow chase guns till three in the afternoon, when he came up with her, and gave her another broadside, which she returned : but Capt. Rogers, then finding that she shot from him, deferred firing any more till he came close up with her ; and about nine at night, being close under her lee quarter, he gave her another broadside, with small arms, upon which she called for quarter, and was carried into Plymouth.

ON the 27th of December, the Pulteney privateer, a large brigantine, mounting 16 carriage guns and 26 swivels, with 42 men, commanded by Capt. James Porcel, returned to Gibraltar from a cruise in the mouth of the Straights : and as she was standing in for the bay, from the west, with little or no wind, was seen from

from Old Gibraltar; from whence two large CHAP. Spanish xebèques, each carrying 120 men, 12 I. carriage guns, and a great number of pateraroes and mulquetoons, were sent out to take the Pulteney; who, looking upon her as an easy prey, made haste with their oars, and soon came up with her, a little to the east of Europa point, and almost within reach of the guns of Gibraltar. There was in the bay an 80 gun ship, but without a main-top-mast; so that there was no assisting the privateer but by a re-inforcement of men, which might have very easily been sent when the xebèques first stood out; but the commander, when applied to, refused so reasonable a request, alledging that it was impossible so small a vessel, even full of men, could escape so superior a force. The brave Capt. Purcel was however of a different opinion, resolving to defend his vessel to the last extremity; and, finding his officers and men in the same disposition, he prepared for an obstinate resistance. After a few single guns, the Spaniards came near, and hailed the vessel by her name, and the captain by his, entreating him to strike and preserve the lives of his men, otherwise to expect no quarter. These threats were returned with guns. Then the Spaniards attempted to board, and were resolutely beat off; they twice more renewed their attempt, but Capt. Purcel, prudently reserving half his broadside, they had not courage to board him, though they exposed themselves so much, particularly in the last push, that they could stand it no longer, and made off with their oars, towards Malaga, having lost above 100 of their men. The engagement lasted an hour and three quarters; the Pulteney had but one man killed, and five more dangerously

1742.

PART rously wounded; though, what is very remarkable, every man on board was shot through his
III. cloaths; the sails and rigging were cut all to
 1742. pieces, and some nine pounders went through the hull and masts. The *Pulteney* remaining becalmed after the engagement, several boats from Gibraltar went and towed her round; and the garrison had so high a sense of the great merit of the action, of which many hundreds of them were witnesses, that the governor, officers, and principal inhabitants, contributed for a large piece of plate as a present to the captain with a suitable inscription, and gave a handsome reward to the sailors for their bravery.

THESE were the most material actions, in which the British commanders, this year, signalized their bravery in the European seas. In the mean time the government, sensible that a due encouragement of their maritime force was the best security for the liberties of Europe, manifested a regard for the protection of their seamen, and their resolution to permit no officer of the royal navy to escape with impunity, either for a neglect of duty, or ill treatment of their men. For in May, the British ministry settled a cartel with the court of Madrid, for the exchange of prisoners; pursuant to which above 600 English seamen were delivered from St Sebastian, and a considerable number exchanged at Gibraltar. Sir Yelverton Peyton, captain of the *Hector* man of war, and Capt. Fanshaw, commander of the *Phœnix*, having returned from their station at Virginia and South Carolina; and complaints having been made to the ministry of their conduct there; a court martial was appointed to try them; which was held, on the 9th of June, by Admiral Cavendish, on board the *St George*,

at Spithead; when the court adjudged Sir Yel-CHAP.
verton Peyton to be dismissed from ever serving I.
in the royal navy, and mulcted Capt. Fanshaw
six months pay for the use of the chest at Cha- 1742.
tham, which is a fund of naval charity, estab-
lished in the year 1588, for the support of
wounded seamen. And, on the 19th of Au-
gust, the same admiral held another court mar-
tial, at Spithead, on the captain of the *Superb*;
who was cashiered, and rendered incapable of
serving again, for ill treatment to his officers,
and inhuman cruelty to his men.



CHAPTER II.

The expedition to PANAMA; the
establishing a BRITISH settlement
in the island of RATTAN; and
other occurrences in the WEST
INDIES, to the departure of AD-
MIRAL VERNON, and GENERAL
WENTWORTH, from AMERICA.

AFTER the retreat of General Went-CHAP.
worth from the expedition against St Jago, II.
in the island of Cuba, the land forces arrived in
the transports, at Jamaica: Vice Admiral Ver-
non, with the greatest part of his squadron,
proceeded

PART proceeded to cruise off Hispaniola, in expectation of meeting the reinforcement of Marines

III.

1742. from England; having ordered the general rendezvous off Cape Tiberon, where the squadron continued for some time; and then the vice admiral made sail to windward, cruising off Jaquimel, keeping well to the southward, so as to lie in the way both of the expected reinforcement, and any ships bound to Port Louis; having the Chester cruising to windward off Cape Alta-Vela: so that nothing could well pass him, and he spoke with all he saw, but without meeting any material intelligence. After cruising about eight or ten leagues to the southward of Jaquimel, till the 28th of December, the vice admiral thought proper to bear away to the general rendezvous, off Cape Tiberon, for being in the way to meet advices from Jamaica, and collecting his ships together that had been detached on separate services: from whence the vice admiral sent Capt. Cleland, in the Worcester, with a letter to the Marquis de Larnage, to observe what the French were doing at Leogane and Petit Guave; by whose report he learnt, the expected convoy were in no danger from any thing in those parts; but it was uncertain what force they might have at Martinico. While he was on this station, the vice admiral, on the 1st of January, received two letters from the Duke of Newcastle, the one dated the 15th, and the other the 31st, of October; by which he was informed, that the convoy, with the transports and 2,000 marines, might be speedily expected: he found that the convoy was but weak, being only two ships of 50 guns, and one of 40, with four bombketches; and that his grace seemed under an uncertainty which way the

the French squadrons might be designed: the vice admiral therefore determined to leave the strongest detachment he could, that were in condition for the sea, to cruise for meeting the convoy and reinforcement; and accordingly ordered Capt. Mitchel, in the Kent of 70 guns, with three 60 gun ships, and the Seahorse of 20 guns, to recruit their water, on Tiberon bay, with all expedition, and then proceed to cruise for them off Cape Alta-Vela, till the 10th of February. The vice admiral also ordered the Litchfield, commanded by Capt. Cusack, to take the station between the islands of Heneago and Tortuga; and then, on consulting with Sir Chaloner Ogle, determined to return to Jamaica for holding a general council of war, pursuant to the direction of the Duke of Newcastle, who, in his letter of the 31st of October, informed the vice admiral, "That his majesty had commanded his grace to acquaint him, and General Wentworth, that he saw with great concern the heats and animosities that had arose between his officers by sea and land, contrary to his orders; whereby the service could not but greatly suffer; ordering his grace to recommend it to them, in the strongest manner, carefully to avoid the like for the future; and that, in case of any difference of opinion, all acrimony and warmth of expression to be laid aside."

On the 4th of January, the vice admiral was joined by Capt. Ward, in the Sheerness, who brought him a joint letter from General Wentworth, General Guise, and Governor Trelawney, desiring his coming down for holding the general council of war: the vice admiral was then in his way to Jamaica on the same purpose, and after

CHAP.
II.

1742.

PART after detaching the Sheernefs and Swift to cruise

III. off Crooked Island, Port Francois, and the
 Turk's Island, to clear the windward passage,
 1742. and give the Spanish privateers a general rum-
 mage, the vice admiral, with Sir Chaloner Ogle
 and the rest of his squadron that were with
 him, arrived in Port Royal harbour at Jamaica
 on the 5th.

THE vice admiral immediately acquainted General Wentworth, that he was agreed in the expediency of holding a general council of war as soon as possible; for which purpose, he would be in Spanish Town on the 7th in the evening; and that he would do all in his power punctually to comply with his majesty's instructions. Accordingly the vice admiral, and Sir Chaloner Ogle, went up to Spanish Town; and, on the 8th of January, the general council of war assembled, at which were present, Vice Admiral Vernon, General Wentworth, Sir Chaloner Ogle, Brigadier General Guise, and Governor Trelawney; when they proceeded to consult what expedition was proper to be undertaken: and having read, and examined into, the proposal of Capt. Lea, for an attempt on Guatimala; and into the proposal made by Lieutenant Lowther, about Panama; the latter seemed to meet with the greater approbation: and Lieutenant Lowther, on his examination, acquainting the council, " That a man of war should
 " by all means go with the traders ready to sail
 " to Porto Bello: that the Mosquito Indians
 " would be of use, in knowing how the river
 " setts; in carrying the artillery up the river
 " Chagre; and 100 of them to go before on
 " the van guard. That the road from Cruzes
 " to Panama was paved, and broad enough to
 " carry

" carry artillery for ten or eleven miles from CHAP.
" Cruces, and a fine savanna after that with se- II.
" veral roads to Panama. Declaring it, as his
" opinion, that the least number of soldiers, that 1742.
" could be for this expedition, was 3,000, ex-
" clusive of 500 negroes and 400 Mosquito men;
" and that he ought to have 500 *l.* advanced
" him, for procuring guides and intelligence, of
" which the value of 400 *l.* was to be in goods,
" and 100 *l.* in liquor." General Wentworth
conceiving that the scheme of Lieutenant
Lowther was the most practicable of any yet
offered, therefore the council of war concurred
with him in opinion, " That the most effectual
" measures should be pursued for putting this
" scheme in execution: and that each of them,
" in their respective branches, would facilitate
" every thing in their power for preparing to
" set about the immediate execution of it, as
" most for the service; and ordered, that Lie-
" tenant Lowther should be sent, with the 500 *l.*
" as he had required, immediately in a man of
" war to Porto Bello."

THIS scheme of landing at Porto Bello, and
marching over the isthmus of Darien to Panama,
was delivered by Lieutenant Lowther to Gover-
nor Trelawney, at the solicitation and request of
his excellency, on the 17th of December; so
that the general officers had a long time to con-
sider of it, before the arrival of the naval com-
manders at Jamaica, on the 5th of January,
and their meeting of the 8th. And as, by their
resolutions in this council, the land officers had
determined against the eldest general officer, as
proposed by Vice Admiral Vernon, having a
casting vote in the absence of Governor Tre-
lawney; the vice admiral could easily perceive

PART every thing must be as they pleased, and therefore thought it for the service of his majesty to leave the choosing of the expedition to the judgment of General Wentworth, who had then been long in the country, and had imparted to him all the intelligence the vice admiral could procure, as well as what he had collected himself.

III.
1742. **At** this time Vice Admiral Vernon acquainted the Duke of Newcastle, that he lamented his situation, and had determined to limit his applications of favour from the crown, to the single one, of having the conduct of the expeditions, to Carthagena and Cuba, strictly and publickly enquired into ; and, as he knew that his majesty had an experienced officer there in Sir Chaloner Ogle, he requested the favour of his grace, that he might be ordered home, to undergo the strictest examination into his conduct : assuring his grace, till such orders arrived, no one should forward every service for the honour of his royal master, and the due execution of his orders, with more care and diligence than he would ; but under his daily prayers, for a deliverance, from being conjoined to a gentleman, whose opinions he had long experienced to be more changeable than the moon ; though he had endeavoured, agreeable to his orders, to maintain the most civil correspondence in his power with General Wentworth.

IN pursuance of the above resolution of the general council of war, Vice Admiral Vernon, on the 11th of January, issued orders to his captains, to use all diligence in getting their ships refitted, and ready for proceeding to sea, upon the arrival of the convoy with the reinforcements, and to have their ships watered, and their provisions completed for four months.

As

As so many of the unsheathed ships had been already sent to England ; and as the Prince Frederick, and Prince of Orange, of 70 guns, and the Augusta, and Jersey, of 60 guns, were also obliged to return home, for their preservation ; and the Bristol being ordered to sail as convoy to the merchant vessels ; the most ships of the line, that the vice admiral could expect to have at sea together, would be ten sail ; and those were so greatly reduced in their complements, they were in no condition to proceed to sea without the assistance of the soldiers, and even then would be much inferior to the Spanish squadron, under Don Rodrigo de Torres, at the Havanna.

CHAP.
II.
1742.

ON the 15th of January, the Greenwich, St Albans, and Fox, arrived in Port Royal harbour, with the expected reinforcement of 2,000 marines ; having passed, in the night-time, unobserved by Capt. Mitchell ; who, being informed of it, returned, with the other ships, to Jamaica, on the 29th. On the arrival of the succours, Vice Admiral Vernon informed General Wentworth and Governor Trelawney, that he thought the speedy assembling the general council of war to be the point of the utmost importance to the service, that all other necessary points might be maturely discussed, and their deliberations and resolutions be fairly drawn up and signed, that the execution of them might be speedily entered upon ; delay having, by the experience of former times, as well as the present, been found to be the most dangerous enemy in these parts. Upon this, the general council of war re-assembled, on the 19th ; but, as General Guise was indisposed, nothing was done till the next day, when they signed their former resolutions, without determining upon any other.

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PART ON the 21st, the land officers held a council

III. war, at the head quarters near Kingston, to form
 their opinion of what was recommended to
 them: The council, having duly considered the
 1742. scheme laid down by Lieutenant Lowther for

the attack of Panama, were unanimously of
 opinion, " That if they could be supplied with
 " 500 Negroes, and if Admiral Vernon would
 " give them all the assistance in his power for
 " conveying the troops and artillery up the
 " Chagre to Cruces, it would be for his majesty's
 " service to make the attempt, and to push it
 " as far as should be practicable; and that
 " it should be gone about with all possible expen-
 " diture." This resolution was signed by General
 Wentworth, General Blakeney, Colonel Lowther
 and Colonel Frazer; to which the vice admiral
 readily signed his consent.

On the 22d, another general council of war
 was held, by Admiral Vernon, Sir Chaloner
 Ogle, General Wentworth, General Guise, and
 Governor Trelawney; when General Wentworth
 reported, " That he had the general return
 " the men capable of duty, both those lately
 " arrived from Cork, and what he had under
 " his command before, and found they did not
 " amount, in the whole, to 3,000 men fit for
 " immediate service; and, as a considerable
 " number were wanted to man the fleet, he
 " found the forces would be too weak to under-
 " take the enterprize of Panama. Whereupon
 " it was agreed, to man the ships from the
 " forces, and to put the remainder in condition
 " for service, on board the last transports from
 " Europe, to be getting to sea with all expedi-
 " tion, and to direct their views to such at-
 " tempts, as should then seem to the council

" "

“to be most promising of success; having al- CHAP.
“ways in view the preservation of Jamaica. II.

“And, for giving the Spaniards a diversion in
“the Leeward parts, it appeared to them, that
“they might detach 200 men for trying the
“success of the settlement of Rattan island;
“which, if it could be effected, would, in their
“apprehension, be a probable means of secu-
“ring the Logwood trade to Britain, and like-
“wise for opening a commerce with the pro-
“vinces of Guatimala and Yucatan.” The two
Admirals, General Guise, and Governor Trelaw-
ney, concurred in this opinion, and signed the re-
solution; but General Wentworth, at that time,
declined it.

GENERAL WENTWORTH having formerly
requested of the vice admiral, to send Lieute-
nant Lowther over to the coast of Porto Bello,
for obtaining intelligence, and securing the suc-
cess of the intended expedition against Panama;
on the 4th of February, the lieutenant, with thir-
teen men, proceeded to sea, in the Triton sloop,
under convoy of Capt. Dennis in the Experi-
ment, to act as a trader, and procure all the in-
formation he was able, pursuant to his instructions
from General Wentworth; which, as he had long
resided on the Spanish main, no person was so
capable of executing.

THE squadron was soon in readiness for put-
ting to sea, but the land forces were extremely
backward: and, on the 8th of February, a ge-
neral council of war was held, when it was de-
bated, what could be proceeded upon; and the
council, considering that the season of the year
falling out favourably for the expedition against
Panama, “Resolved to proceed upon it with
“the utmost expedition,” After this determi-
nation,

PART nation, Vice Admiral Vernon had soon made

III. every preparation, in the squadron, for the im-

mediate commencement of the expedition; but

1742. it was not till the 21st of February that he had any application made to him, by the commissary of the army, for his orders for what provisions were wanted to be issued to him, which he received the instant he applied for it.

DURING these dilatory proceedings of the officers of the army, the vice admiral was principally concerned in stationing his cruizers, in the best disposition, for taking all possible care against the squadron, or island, being liable to any surprizals, and for being strengthened by the cruizers on their first discovery of any squadron of the Spaniards, or others. The Greenwich and St Albans were dispatched for cruizing, the one to windward, and the other to leeward, off Carthagera, for cutting them off from all communications, and keeping them under their apprehensions of another attack; the vice admiral having mentioned his intentions of stationing them there to the council of war, who all approved of it as a prudent measure: and, apprehending the bomb-ketches to be of no use in the present expedition, the vice admiral posted them in the Narrows to assist in the defence of that channel; and drew up such general orders for Capt. Young, whom he left to command at Port Royal in his absence, as he conceived to be most necessary in case of any attack upon that harbour; leaving an unsheathed fireship, careening, for an advice boat on any emergency.

As the approaching rainy season was every day advancing upon them, the vice admiral, on the 2d of March, informed General Wentworth, that he was persuaded the general could not but think

think with him, that their early getting to sea CHAP. II.
was of the utmost importance, to secure success 1742.
in the expedition, which should therefore take
place of all other considerations, as such trans-
ports as could not be then ready to sail with
them, might easily have proper convoys appoint-
ed for bringing them after; which was the me-
thod he begged leave to recommend to the gene-
ral; and that they might be proceeding, with
the force they had in readiness, with all possible
expedition. The next day the general acquaint-
ed Admiral Vernon, that he could not sail be-
fore the 6th; and that he should not think it
advisable to land, till a transport of Negroes
should arrive that was to sail after the squadron;
which gave the vice admiral a very great con-
cern: and he, the same day, represented to the
general, " That he hoped in God they should
" sail under no other resolution, than immedi-
" ately to attempt the success of their enter-
" prize with the force they carried with them."
On the 3d the vice admiral was informed by
General Wentworth, that he had received in-
telligence that six Spanish men of war were ar-
rived at Lagaira, with a reinforcement of 4,000
men designed for Carthagená. The vice admi-
ral, having consulted with Sir Chaloner Ogle
upon this intelligence, they were both of opi-
nion, that they ought to endeavour to intercept
those reinforcements, as the principal point for
securing success to the expedition; and that not
a moments time should be lost in setting about
it. Accordingly they immediately summoned
the general council of war, which met on the
4th, on board the Boyne in Port Royal harbour,
at which were present, the two Admirals, Gene-
ral Wentworth, General Blakeney, and Gover-
nor

PART nor Trelawney; ' When Vice Admiral Ver-

III. ' non, having laid before the council of war,

{ the letter of intelligence he had received from

1742. ' General Wentworth, proposed going to sea

' immediately with a part of the ships, to lie

' off shore, and attempt intercepting the Span-

' ish convoy with the forces, as a matter of the

' utmost importance for securing the success of

' the expedition. And the vice admiral repre-

' sented, that going upon this attempt, would

' not be a step out of the way, as making the

' land of Point Canoa, or the Popa, are the

' general landmarks for falling in with to shape

' a course for Porto Bello. And the council,

' considering that it might prove a useful diver-

' sion to fix the attention of the Spaniards on

' their intending to return to the attack of Car-

' thagena,' " Unanimously approved of the vice

" admiral's proposal, of his proceeding with

" part of his ships to cruize off Carthageña,

" and leaving the command of the rest under

" Sir Chaloner Ogle, to proceed to sea with the

" transports and storeships under his convoy,

" as soon as ready to sail."

EARLY the next morning, the vice admiral

in the Boyne, two sixty gun ships, the Fowey a

fifth rate, and a fire-ship, set sail from Port

Royal to proceed off Carthageña, and act agree-

able to the resolution of the council of war;

expecting to meet some of his cruizers off Car-

thagena, and was to be followed by the York,

another sixty gun ship, on the 6th. Vice Ad-

miral Vernon sent Sir Chaloner Ogle, by one of

his lieutenants who attended the vice admiral in

a tender for that purpose, orders, " To con-

" form himself to the resolution of the coun-

" cil of war, and take upon him the charge

" and

"and command of his majesty's ships appointed
"to compose the squadron for their long-in-
"tended expedition; and to proceed to sea,
"with the remainder of them, as the said reso-
"lution directed, whenever General Wentworth
"should let him know he was ready to proceed
"to sea with his transports and store-ships: and
"the rear admiral was also ordered to assist the
"transports in putting to sea."

CHAP.

II.

1742.

THE vice admiral got over into the Playa Grande, on the 11th of March in the evening; and tacking, in seven fathom water, off Carthagena, saw there only one unrigged ship. The same evening he was joined by the Greenwich and St Albans. Upon standing off that night, just before the time the vice admiral had ordered them to stand in again, the Boyne sprung her main-mast, through the imprudence of the lieutenant, in carrying the main-top-sail when he should have handed it; and, the carpenter being against carrying any sail upon it, the vice admiral could not fetch to anchor either in Playa Grande, or Boca Chica, which he intended, and got to an anchor off the great Baru, on the 12th at night, where he continued to repair the damage as well as he could; having given orders for the other ships to cruize off Carthagena for preventing any succours getting in there, and looking out for Sir Chaloner Ogle with the convoy of transports and store-ships. On the 21st, the vice admiral joined all his ships, cruizing off Carthagena, who were posted in such a manner as entirely to block up the entrance of the harbour and the Boquilla; but the vice admiral could not learn, from his cruizers, that there was any appearance of the intelligence given by General Wentworth having the least

PART truth in it; and therefore the men of war, and

III. the 4,000 men, seemed to him ingrafted news,
 upon the first intelligence they met with on
 1742. their return from Cuba, when they were cruiz-
 ing to windward of Port Louis, of a supply of
 arms and ammunition being going for Cartha-
 gena in four ships from the coast of Caraccas,
 under convoy of four Spanish privateers from
 St Domingo; neither of which however had
 yet arrived. Having a few Spanish prisoners on
 board, taken by Capt. Knight in the St Albans,
 the vice admiral took the opportunity of send-
 ing the vice-roy a letter, to propose an exchange
 for them; wanting to be informed what the
 Spaniards were doing at the Pastilio, where he
 found they were erecting a strong battery, with
 the ruins brought from Castillo Grande; by
 which the vice admiral saw they never intended
 building any thing at Castillo Grande, this be-
 ing to protect ships in the bason, between that
 castle and the town: and as the messengers were
 received by the vice-roy in Carthagena, they
 passed close by the Pastilio, and counted sixteen
 embrasures facing Castillo Grande, the other
 face of the work being towards Texar de Gracias,
 where the British forces landed at the siege.

THE vice admiral was extremely concerned
 at the long delay, in getting the transports and
 storeships ready, for proceeding from Jamaica
 on the intended expedition; though, in his own
 judgment and observation, he never thought
 General Wentworth sincerely disposed in pursu-
 ing this project of his own proposing; which, to
 those the vice admiral had a confidence in, he
 very freely expressed his doubts of; and he af-
 terwards found himself far from being mistaken.
 On the 25th in the morning, the vice admiral
 had

had the pleasure to discover the fleet coming in with the land, and joined them in the afternoon. CHAP. II.

After a short conference with Sir Chaloner Ogle, and giving out some necessary orders, the vice admiral made sail on with the whole fleet that evening, in time for drawing them together, and their knowing the course they were to steer for the night.

1742.

THE fleet consisted of eight sail of the line, being two of 80 guns, two of 70 guns, and four of 60; with three fireships, and two hospital ships: the transports were about forty sail, having on board 3,000 land forces, and 500 Negroes raised by Governor Trelawney, who attended the expedition in the rank of a Colonel.

THE vice admiral, determining to go into the harbour of Porto Bello in line of battle, as uncertain what preparations the Spaniards might have been making, issued orders to the fleet, "That he and Sir Chaloner Ogle would lead their respective divisions; and every ship was to keep a good half mile distance from each other, for their having room to work in, if they could not lead it in, or to take anchoring birth without confusion. Each captain was ordered to take particular care to have his ship in condition for action, in all respects, in case the Spaniards should have erected any new works to dispute their entrance. The fireships and hospital ships were ordered to keep in the rear, and the transports and storeships to follow them in, and not to crowd too thick upon each other, in coming in, for fear of forcing one another ashore."

At the request of General Wentworth, Lieutenant Lowther had been sent, on the 4th of February, with thirteen men, in the Triton sloop,

PART under convoy of the Experiment, to procure the

III. best intelligence along the coast for facilitating the success of the expedition; who, on their re-

turn, were ordered to go into the *Bastimentos*, and wait the arrival of the fleet. As General Wentworth had proposed, in pursuance of the scheme laid down by Lieutenant Lowther, when the council of war first resolved on this expedition, that a detachment of 600 men were to land at *Nombre de Dios*, a little to the eastward of *Porto Bello*, the day before the fleet should get into that harbour; the vice admiral detached the *Montagu*, Capt. Chambers, on the 26th, to look out for the Experiment; and acquainted General Wentworth, that if Capt. Chambers found her out, he would order the *Montagu* and Experiment to go into the *Bastimentos* with the detachment that had his orders for landing at *Nombre de Dios*, and they should, to distinguish them, carry a jack upon their main-top-gallant mast-head! But the vice admiral informed General Wentworth, that, if they did not meet with the Experiment and *Triton*, the fleet must not lie in the sea, and he would carry them directly to *Porto Bello*; looking on the landing at *Nombre de Dios*, in his apprehension, of no great consequence, as Lieutenant Lowther was of the same opinion; because the party to be landed up the river *Cascahall* had but six miles to march before they could join the other party at *Taxa Buena*, where the detachment from *Nombre de Dios* was to come. And, as this armament could not be concealed, it plainly appeared to the vice admiral, if they missed of the Experiment and Lieutenant Lowther at present, the shortest and secretest way of securing that pass at *Taxa Buena*, was to sail directly into the harbour of *Porto Bello*,
and

and send the troops up the river Cascaball; of this he also informed the general, and told him, that he was giving out his disposition for that purpose, and conceived there could be no occasion for calling a council of war till they were quietly anchored in the harbour of Porto Bello.

CHAP.

II.

1742.

ON Sunday the 28th of March, before noon, the vice admiral had a providential landfall just to windward of the Bastimentos; and missing of the Experiment in that station, and finding he had wind to reach the harbour of Porto Bello before night, he made the signal for line of battle; and, pushing away directly for the harbour, happily got an anchor there before night, and the whole fleet into anchor ground. The vice admiral met with no sign of opposition; though the governor had three companies of Spanish soldiers, and two companies of Mulattoes and Negroes. The governor, on the appearance of the fleet, made all imaginable haste to leave the town, and quitted it that night, with the three companies of soldiers; but the two companies of Mulattoes and Negroes did not depart the town till the next morning. The vice admiral observing, on his first anchoring, many of the inhabitants were flying from the town, dispatched an officer and interpreter up directly, to desire they would put themselves under no unjust apprehension, but continue peaceably in their own possessions: on which the deputies from the magistracy, and the town, came on board the *Boyne*, to desire protection for their persons, goods, and effects. Upon their coming on board, the vice admiral summoned the general council of war, that the deputies might have the assurance of the whole council for their protection; who accordingly met; and unanimously agreed,

PART agreed, "That it would be most for the service

III. "to have a detachment sent up the river Cas-

gahall, the next day, for cutting off the com-

1742. "munication between Porto Bello and Panama;

"and, to take possession of the custom-house,

"and to place a guard there." At the same

time it was unanimously resolved, to acquaint

the deputies, "That the protection requested

"should be granted, if they did nothing to for-

"feit it: and that the council expected the

"town to furnish mules for common prices, and

"cattle for the sick; and to return an account;

"the next morning, what number of mules they

"could provide when required." On the 29th

the deputies were acquainted with this resolu-

tion; and sent back, the same evening, highly

pleased with the assurances that were given

them.

As soon as the council was ended, the vice

admiral sent a detachment of fourscore soldiers,

under Capt. Grant, from his ship, to take pos-

session of the custom-house, which the Spaniards

called the Contedorio, with orders, "To take

"possession of the custom-house at the water-

"side, which the council of war looked on as

"the property of the crown; to mount a guard

"there regularly, and not to suffer any officers,

"or men of his detachment, to go without the

"limits of his centries, without particular li-

"cense." He was also ordered, "To take care

"to prevent all surprizals, and to maintain his

"post, in case the ingratitude, or imprudence,

"of any one, should invite them to act contrary

"to their duty; and if any were inhabiting in

"the Contedorio, to assign them a part of the

"house for their peaceable residence, directing

"him to act under these orders, till he was re-

"lieved,

“ lieved, and to leave his orders with the officers CHAP.
“ relieving him.” The vice admiral also issued II.
orders to all the naval commanders, “ Inviolably
“ to preserve the clergy, magistracy, and inha- 1742.
“ bitants, of the town of Porto Bello, in their
“ quiet and peaceable enjoyment of their persons
“ and properties : and, for the more securely pre-
“ serving the same to them, they were required
“ and directed not to suffer any of their boats to
“ go on shore, without an officer whose conduct
“ they could be answerable for ; and not to con-
“ tinue on shore after sun-set ; nor to go to Porto
“ Bello without permission.” The same even-
ing the vice admiral had a visit from the clergy
of the town, who all seemed in good humour,
and in a firm reliance that they might depend on
what had been promised them.

As the vice admiral was going into the har-
bour of Porto Bello, the Experiment came out
from under the Savanillo keys, and joined him ;
with Lieutenant Lowther, and the guides he had
procured.

Soon after the council of war was over, the
vice admiral was greatly surprized, when Gover-
nor Trelawney, who had been promoted to the
rank of a colonel and acted in the expedi-
tion, took him aside, “ To desire he would ap-
“ point a ship immediately to return with him
“ to Jamaica, for getting back in time to meet
“ the assembly, as it was not designed to pro-
“ ceed to Panama.” The vice admiral told
him, “ As to the proceeding to Panama, that
“ depending on the council of war of land offi-
“ cers, he knew nothing yet of their resolutions,
“ being a matter referred to them ; and said,
“ he could not know that, but in consequence of
“ their resolutions, when they were regularly
“ com-

PART "communicated to him; and could not spare

III. "any of the ships then with him, but his excel-

lency should have the first as came in at his

1742. "command, as the vice admiral expected some
"hourly."

On the 30th, the land officers held a council of war, on board the *Grafton*, at which were present, General Wentworth, Colonel Fraser, Governor Trelawney, Colonel Leighton, Colonel Cope, Colonel Duroure, and Colonel Martin; "When the council, having carefully weighed "the present circumstances of the troops, and the "season of the year; and likewise having examined Lieutenant Lowther, as to the practicability "of putting his scheme into execution in their present situation; which he declared could not be "attempted, with any hopes of success." "They "were unanimously of opinion, that at this conjuncture, an attempt on Panama was not consistent with his majesty's service, and should "therefore be laid aside." This resolution, in the afternoon, was communicated to Vice Admiral Vernon; and Governor Trelawney appearing to have signed it as one, he was the less surprized at his being so well acquainted with it before; and, in his letter to the Duke of Newcastle, on the 31st, represented, that as the general council of war was composed of three land officers, to two sea officers, that would fully explain to his Grace, what he had mentioned in former letters, that he was but a cypher in the general council of war, and therefore judged it most for his majesty's service, to resolve to support, the best he could, any thing they should think proper to undertake; lamenting his situation with such a yoke-fellow, and that he should nevertheless have a faithful regard to the honour and interest of his royal

royal master, in serving him to the best of his abilities, till he was relieved, by his majesty's orders, which he ardently longed for, as he saw he could not serve him in such circumstances.

CHAP.

II.

1742.

GENERAL WENTWORTH having desired the vice admiral to assemble the general council of war, he accordingly made the signal, on the 31st, when the council met on board the Boyne, "And agreed to wood and water the ships, and return to Jamaica." Though this was their unanimous opinion, they would have served his majesty better, in declaring that opinion to Sir Chaloner Ogle before, who had a power from the vice admiral to call a council of war, at the request of General Wentworth; since great expence and hazard might have been saved to the crown, from declaring their minds when they had received the return of Lieutenant Lowther; and the armament might have returned to Port Royal, instead of proceeding to Porto Bello, on an expedition they seemed to have come determined not to proceed upon, though it was entirely of their own hatching up, when the vice and rear admirals were at sea, after their return from Cuba.

On the 31st, at night, the vice admiral received, from General Wentworth, a paper, bearing the land officers reasons for laying aside the attempt on Panama, which were; "That, from having consumed near three weeks in their voyage, which was usually made in eight days, the rainy season was come upon them; which might not only incommode them in their march, but, by the sudden rising of the rivers, might cut off their communication. That, from having during their voyage, been lessened in their numbers 935 men, (officers included) of those which embarked at Jamaica, either

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146 *The Conduct of the Powers of Europe,*

PART " by death, sickness, or from several transports

III. " being separated from the fleet; and from the

" ships of war being unable to supply them with

1742. " more than 600 men, being part of the 1,468

" embarked on board them, their present num-

" bers would fall 968 short of the 3,000 effective

" men required for the attempt on Panama.

" *That*, from the want of one of the ships with

" Negroes on board, their numbers were re-

" duced so low as to disable them from carry-

" ing a sufficient quantity of provisions. *That*,

" from an omission in executing one part of the

" scheme, laid down for carrying on the enter-

" prize, the governor of Porto Bello, with three

" companies of Spanish soldiers, and two of Mu-

" lattoes and Negroes, were retired to Panama;

" on the cutting off of whose retreat, their suc-

" cess in some measure depended, as the gover-

" nor was an officer of merit and service, in

" whom the Spaniards had great confidence.

" *That*, there was lately good intelligence, of a

" a large reinforcement arrived at Panama from

" Lima, and of works being thrown up towards

" the land. *And*, for these reasons, they thought

" it was for the service to lay aside that enter-

" prize, as impracticable."

PANAMA is the capital city of the province of Darien, or Terra-firma proper, in South America. It stands upon a capacious bay of the pacific ocean, about sixty miles, over the isthmus, from Porto Bello, surrounded with a stone wall and other fortifications; containing about 6,000 houses. This city is the see of a bishop, and the seat of the governor of the province; where the treasures of gold and silver, and other rich merchandize of Peru, are brought, and deposited in magazines, till they are transported to Europe; and here the merchandize

merchandize of Europe, sent to America by the CHAP. galleons, is lodged till exported to the several II. cities of Peru to which it is assigned. If this city had been reduced by the British forces, it would 1742, have given them the entire possession of the isthmus of Darien, whereby they would, in effect, have been masters of all the treasures of Peru; and, by such an acquisition, the British nation would have retained an equivalent, for any concessions, however extraordinary, which they might have been induced to have made on either of the branches of the house of Bourbon.

WHEN the vice admiral received the reasons of the land officers for abandoning the expedition, he was convinced, that they had resolved against landing before they entered the harbour of Porto Bello: for he was of opinion, that less than 1,500 men would have been sufficient for the enterprize against Panama, which had been formerly taken, by Sir Henry Morgan, with 500 Buccaneers, who marched over the isthmus, and became masters of the town with little difficulty.

WHEN the fleet first came into the harbour, the vice admiral, at the general council of war on the 28th of March, advised General Wentworth, that the detachment, in his apprehension, ought to have gone up the river of Cascahall that very night: but the general said, it was not possible to get the detachment ready; and in fact, he never sent them at all, agreeable to the resolution of the general council of war: though if this detachment had been sent in boats up the river, as advised by Vice Admiral Vernon, they might have had a chance of intercepting the governor of Porto Bello and his troops; but without doubt, they had cut off the two companies of Mulattoes and Negroes, for they did not depart the town

PART till next morning about seven or eight o'clock

III. And the vice admiral, with some officers, on the 1st of April, rowed above a mile and half up the river, to the house of Don Philip de Moya, which

1742.

is close by the Panama road, and two miles and three quarters in the road to Panama from Port Bello; but there was a nearer landing-place, than would have shortened the distance below it: by which it plainly appeared, it was easily practicable to have done it the night they came in, and thereby have cut off the retreat of the governor and his soldiers.

THE governor, and inhabitants of Panama were under terrible apprehensions for their security, fully expecting that the army would march and attack them: and as they had fitted out five ships to sail in quest of Commodore Anson, the now detained them in their Port, as they wanted the men for their own defence. The governor of Panama, was even in so great despair about the preservation of the place, that he sent a gentleman to Porto Bello, as a spy, to deceive the vice admiral with false intelligence; who visited the vice admiral, and told him the five Spanish ships were at Panama when he came away; at that, the day before, they had received advice that admiral Pizarro was got to Callao, with his squadron, and was coming for Panama. The vice admiral, by intercepted letters, had heard of the progress of Commodore Anson in the South Seas, but had received no information of the disappointment of Pizarro in getting round Cape Horn; therefore the Spaniard could not be contradicted in his report, though he was sensible of the disasters that befel the Spanish admiral; which makes it very evident, that, by this false representation, the Spaniards wanted

avert the stroke, they, with the greatest conster-
nation, daily expected.

As the last general council of war, of the 31st
of March, had referred it to Vice Admiral Ver-
non and Sir Chaloner Ogle to put it in execu-
tion, in such manner as they should think most
adviseable; they, having considered of it, in-
formed General Wentworth, on the 3d of April,
that they judged the safest and most prudent way
of doing it, would be, by sending the transports
out by detachments. On the 6th Capt. Tucker,
in the Fowey, put to sea, with the first detach-
ment of transports and storeships, consisting of
twenty-five sail; and, the same evening, the vice
admiral was joined by Capt. Rentone in the
Ripon, with four sail of transports and store-
ships, and two victuallers, which were all that
were missing, except the Bonetta transport, who
had lost her main-mast, and was afterwards
brought in by the York. Capt. Rentone hav-
ing fell in with Chagre, on the 5th, saw the
village all in flames; which was occasioned by
their conjecturing that he was coming, with a
detachment of transports, to land men, and
make a lodgment there; to prevent which, it is
probable, the Spanish soldiers had orders to
burn it.

As a brigantine and three sloops from Jamaica
had put into Porto Bello, to take the advantage
of trading at the town, under protection of the
fleet; the vice admiral, knowing it to be for the
mutual advantage of both the English and Spa-
niards to have a free intercourse of trade and
commerce with each other, on the 7th of April,
issued an order to the alcalde and corregidore of
Porto Bello, "To publish, in the town, that
"a mutual intercourse of trade and commerce
"be

“ be freely exercised between the inhabitants
 “ and neighbours of Porto Bello and the sub-
 “ jects of his Britannic majesty, for the time
 “ they continued under protection of the Bri-
 “ tish arms, for the mutual advantage of each
 “ other, free from all duties, and exempted
 “ from all penalty whatsoever; strictly com-
 “ manding every one, not to intermeddle, in
 “ giving the least interruption to it, at their
 “ peril.”

On the 9th the remainder of the transports and fireships got to sea under convoy of the Ripon: the vice admiral, having detached all his convoys and the trading sloops before him, put to sea on the 14th, got off Carthagena on the 23d, on the 5th of May he got over to Jamaica with the whole fleet, and on the 15th anchored in Withywood bay; where General Wentworth chose to land and go for Spanish Town, as it was uncertain when the fleet could gain a passage to Port Royal.

In Withywood bay the vice admiral met Capt. Herbert, with 192 of his officers and men in a prize sloop, having lost the Tyger man of war, of 50 guns, on the 13th of January, on the shoals of Tortuga keys, on the coast of Florida. Capt. Herbert had been ordered on a cruize between Cape Corientes and the Camanes, but by carrying his ship to a station of his own chusing, near 100 leagues distant from his appointed station, was the origine of this misfortune: for the Tyger was lost the night after she arrived on this new chosen station; but the captain saved all his people on one of the Tortuga keys, raised batteries for securing themselves there, and mounted twenty-eight of his cannon on them; they saved most of the provisions

visions for their subsistence, and many stores, though they were obliged to continue there above two months, till they fortunately took a sloop by their boats, thirty leagues from them on the Florida shore; by which, and a schooner, the captain was enabled to come away, with all his people, after having rendered the guns unserviceable, and burnt and destroyed all the stores they could not bring away with them.

1742.

THE vice admiral went by land to Spanish Town, leaving the fleet under the direction of Sir Chaloner Ogle, who soon after brought them all safe into Port Royal. As the late expedition was so shamefully abandoned by the land officers, the vice admiral was desirous of making some compensation to the British government, for the prodigious expences the nation had been put to, in sending so great a fleet, and so numerous an army, in expectation of making some considerable acquisitions in the West Indies; and proposed, to General Wentworth, the forming a settlement in the island of Rattan, which was a scheme projected, by the general, prior to the design on Panama.

THE island of Rattan is situate in the gulph of Honduras, in the latitude of 16 deg. 22 m. north, lying about 150 leagues S. W. from Jamaica, and 14 to the N. W. of Truxillo bay, in the province of Honduras, on the Spanish main. The island is about thirty miles long, and from twelve to fifteen broad; of an irregular figure, but the nearest to the resemblance of a canoe; naturally fortified with rocks and shoals: the south side is very convenient for shipping, having many fine harbours; and the north side is bounded by a reef of rocks, that extend from one end of the island to the other, having

PART. ing but few passages through, and those of little

III. note, being chiefly frequented by turtlers. This

is a plentiful place, abounding with wild hogs,
1742. deer, Indian conies, wild fowl, and great quantities of turtle and fish: the soil is of a clayey kind, and different colours; but in the vallies is rich and fertile, producing any thing in common with the rest of the West Indies, and abounding with excellent water: there are great quantities of oaks, and likewise pine trees of sufficient bigness to make masts and yards for merchant ships. The island is much more healthy than the neighbouring continent, having generally strong easterly winds, which are the most agreeable that blow in South America; and is very advantageously situated for trade, both with the Spaniards and the bay of Honduras.

THIS place had formerly been the residence of pirates; but had, for twenty years, been uninhabited, except by a few hunters: though it is amazing that the Spaniards never fortified it, as they could not be insensible of the disadvantages it would subject them to, if it should fall into the hands of any power with whom they were at variance.

LIEUTENANT HODGSON, who was well acquainted with the nature of this island and the adjacent coast, had represented the utility of it to Governor Trelawney, while Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth were on the expedition against Cuba; and it appearing to the governor, that the possessing of this island would greatly promote the British trade for logwood, and with the Spaniards of Guatemala for cochineal and indico, he represented it to Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth while they were at Cuba, and proposed, that a detachment, of 100 soldiers,

soldiers, should be convoyed there by a man of CHAP.
war, with Lieutenant Hodgson, who was to be II.
governor of the island, and to distribute partitions of land as an encouragement to such of the
soldiers as would go there. The vice admiral immediately consulted on this affair with General Wentworth, and gave it, as his opinion, that such a settlement would be of national service; acquainting the general, that if he approved of detaching one hundred Americans thither, that he would send a 20 gun ship to convoy them, and to cruise off there for some time, for their protection, before she returned to bring them some certain accounts of their success, and how those settled on the Mosquito shore, and the logwood-cutters in the bay, approved of it, and were inclined to come in and support the settlement.

On the return of Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth to Jamaica, after the concerting of the expedition against Panama, in the general council of war held on the 22d of January, for regulating the measures of the succeeding enterprize, it was at the same time resolved, to detach two hundred men, for trying the success of the settlement of Rattan island, for securing the logwood trade to Britain, and opening a commerce with the provinces of Guatimala and Yucatan. Lieutenant Hodgson was also ordered to be supplied with 1,500*l.* for procuring the assistance of the tie Mosquito Indians, and was to be furnished with a captain's commission for Mr Pitts, an Englishman of esteem among the logwood-cutters, and blank commissions for three subalterns under him. But this settlement was postponed during the intended enterprize against Panama; and, in the mean time, General Wentworth proposed to send Lieutenant Hodgson and

PART twelve men, with presents, among the Mosquito

III. Indians and logwood-cutters, under convoy of a man of war, to obtain their assistance in establishing the settlement, and to engage the affections of the Indians in general for the future.

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ON the 12th of February Lieutenant Hodgson received instructions, from General Wentworth and Governor Trelawney, ordering him, “ To repair on board the Margaret transport, and sail for the Mosquito shore, under convoy of the man of war that Admiral Vernon should appoint for that purpose. At his arrival there he was to deliver Mr Pitts his commission, and to require his assistance in getting as many Mosquito men as he could, ready to come away with him immediately : though the more the lieutenant could get the better, yet he had permission to come away, in the man of war, as soon as he had got forty or fifty, if he found a difficulty in getting more, in a reasonable time. The arms, powder, ball, and goods, were left to the disposal and direction of the lieutenant and Mr Pitts, in whose custody he was to leave the whole, or part, as he saw occasion, when he came away ; only taking an account of the quantities given away. He was likewise empowered to hire as many white men, and their negroes, as he could agree with, and their periaquats ; and to leave as many handicraftsmen, of his detachment, with Mr Pitts, as he should think necessary for the purpose. He was likewise to leave the transport under the direction of Capt. Pitts, and require him to repair, as soon as he was ready with the white men, the Mosquito men, and the negroes, under his command, with all convenient speed, to the general rendezvous.”

The

The next day Vice Admiral Vernon ordered the *Bonetta* sloop, commanded by Capt. Lea, who CHAP. II.
was also well acquainted with the Mosquito shore, 1742.
to convoy Lieutenant Hodgson, and carefully to
give his best assistance in the due execution of the
instructions given to the Lieutenant, a copy of
which was annexed to his orders.

On the 14th of February, the *Bonetta* proceeded to sea, with Lieutenant Hodgson and twelve men in the *Margaret* transport under her convoy, for the Mosquito shore, where, on the 1st of March, they met with Capt. Pitts; and having procured the approbation of the British logwood-cutters on the Mosquito shore, and in the bay of Honduras, with whose concurrence the settlement would be easily supported, Capt. Lea returned to Jamaica, leaving Lieutenant Hodgson with his Mosquito majesty to obtain his assistance.

On the return of the fleet and forces to Jamaica, from the Panama enterprize, Vice Admiral Vernon was informed, by Governor Trelawney, of the proceedings of Lieutenant Hodgson; when the vice admiral acquainted his excellency, that the settling Rattan, was then the subsisting resolution of a general council of war, though it was laid aside for the scheme formed by his excellency and General Wentworth against Panama, and proposed assembling the council of war to consider of what could be done for the royal service. Accordingly the general council of war assembled at Spanish Town, on the 28th of June; who, as they expected a French war, unanimously agreed, "To get ready against the intelligence of it, for proceeding to Petit Guave and Leogane; as the destroying of their shipping and settlements there, would be the most sensible

“ blow to them, and the safety of Jamaica.”
 At the same time Vice Admiral Vernon represented to the council, that as the island of Rattan was furnished with a good harbour, and being situated between the Mosquito Indians and the Lagoons where the British logwood-cutters fed their logwood; he suggested, that this island would be a much more commodious retreat for the logwood-cutters, during the rainy season than the Mosquito shore they then resorted to; by which, he apprehended, the British nation might secure to themselves that valuable branch of the logwood trade; besides its lying so commodiously, as to promise for opening new branches of trade into the kingdom of Mexico. which, as he believed it to be not only for the honour and interest of the crown and prosperity of the kingdom, but likewise agreeable to the inclination and views of many officers and private men of the American regiment, he proposed, that a voluntary number of the American regiment should be sent to Rattan, with sufficient provisions for six months, and to be furnished with sufficient arms, ammunition, cannon, and all necessary implements, for erecting fortifications for their defence; together with an engineer to direct and assist them; also, that Governor Trelawney should give them assurance of a suitable property to every officer and soldier; who should continue in the pay and subsistence of the crown, till they could effectually settle themselves in the lands to be conveyed to them. The council signified their approbation of this proposal; and the early settlement of Rattan was agreed to be for the honour and interest of the British crown, and the prosperity of the kingdom; and the expediency of doing it soon, approved of, for the reason of securing

good property, in case a confirmation of possessions should be agreed to by any treaty. But as General Wentworth thought so material a step, required to be more deliberately considered, and digested into a method of execution; it was agreed to refer a final determination, on that head, to a future meeting; and, in the mean time, to consult the inclinations of the Americans concerning it.

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ON the 22d of July another council of war was held, when it was unanimously resolved, "That it was for his majesty's service, the council should proceed with the transports, in the execution of their first resolution on that head, of the 28th of June last, for the settling of the island of Rattan with all possible expedition." At this council Vice Admiral Vernon and Sir Chaloner Ogle, recommended the establishment of a civil government at Rattan independent of the military; and as Mr Pitts was like to be the person of most credit and satisfaction for engaging those from Black River, the Mosquito shore, and the logwood-cutters to become inhabitants there, that he should be the chief civil magistrate, for determining all disputes of property between them.

PURSUANT to these resolutions of the general council of war, a detachment of 200 Americans, and 50 marines, under the command of Major Caulfield, with two engineers, ammunition, stores, and necessaries for the settlement, were ordered to proceed to Rattan, in five transports, under convoy of Capt. Cusack, in the Litchfield of 50 guns, and the Bonetta sloop; Capt. Cusack being ordered to proceed with them to Port Royal harbour, on the south-side of the island of Rattan, which was judged to be the

PART the most proper place for beginning the settle-
III. ment. This harbour is very commodious, of
 which there is no anchoring, on account of the
 shoals being steep too, and very rocky : the chan-
 nel going into the harbour is narrow, about forty
 fathom over, between George's Island and a
 Reef, at the end of which is a safe harbour
 about half a mile broad, and two miles in length,
 capable of containing forty sail of shipping moored.
 The Litchfield was thought sufficient to defend
 the entrance of the harbour, the channel over
 the bar being very narrow for ships of her draught
 of water, and there being no anchorage without
 the bar, nor entrance for a ship of bigger draught
 than the Litchfield ; and Capt. Cusack was also
 ordered to moor his ship, where he should judge
 most proper, for defending the harbour against
 any attempts by sea, and to dispatch the Bonetta in
 thirty days, or sooner, to Jamaica, with an account
 of what progress had been made in the settlement.

On the 13th of August the land forces and
 transports, under convoy of the Litchfield and
 Bonetta, set sail from Jamaica, and arrived, on
 the 23d, at Port Royal harbour in Rattan ; where
 they were joined by Capt. Pitts, and several of
 the logwood-cutters. They immediately formed
 a camp at the N. W. part of the harbour ;
 fixed on a convenient place at the N. E. part of
 the harbour for building a town ; erected a fort,
 called George's Fort, and a guard-house on
 George's Island, to defend the entrance of the
 harbour ; and also erected another fort, called
 Fort Frederic, on the western part of the har-
 bour, directly opposite to the entrance of it.
 They met with a success far exceeding their most
 sanguine expectations ; the logwood-cutters, and
 Mosquito Indians being perfectly pleased with
 the

the settlement ; and the Spaniards, in the neighbourhood of Truxillo, expressed great satisfaction, indicating that they would be fond of settling at Rattan, if they could obtain permission : and when the convoy and transports arrived, the Spaniards abandoned the fort and village of Bacatoo, and carried away their guns ; which fort was erected for intercepting the trade of the British logwood-cutters.

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THE officers perceived that this settlement, promised to open an extensive trade to Guatemala through the wide districts of La Vera Paz, lying between the river Dulce and Guatemala ; and this gave them encouragement diligently to forward the establishment of the settlement. A town was soon marked out, houses and huts were erected, and the place called Augusta.

EVERY thing seemed favourable to the undertaking for a considerable time ; but there being forty-seven papists, among the American detachment, they had formed a conspiracy to render the settlement abortive ; and, by long meditating their design, they had so spread their mutinous dispositions among the other Americans, that the strictest discipline was required to keep them in subjection : at length the conspirators proposed to put their design in execution, on the 25th of December, between the hours of twelve and one at night, by setting fire to the huts, and then marching to the water, where they were to discharge their fire arms, with loud huzzas ; which they accordingly did ; and alarmed the commanding officers, who immediately ordered the guards to be reinforced. At this time the Litchfield, and a 40 gun ship were at anchor in the harbour, having a detachment of marines on board, who were instantly landed, and,

PART and, with the other marines on the island, and

III. such of the Americans as were not concerned in
the mutiny, seized the most suspected persons, to
1742. the number of 40. After which a general court

martial was held, when one of the principal
ringleaders was sentenced to be shot, and two
others to receive 600 lashes, and be to put on
board one of the men of war till his majesty's
pleasure should be further known; which was
put in execution; and afterwards the settlement
was established with all imaginable success.

AFTER putting the settlement of Rattan into
execution, nothing material was afterwards trans-
acted in the West Indies, either by Vice Admi-
ral Vernon or General Wentworth. Many un-
happy divisions were subsisting between the na-
val and land officers, and the vice admiral plainly
told the general, "That to his inexperience,
"injudiciousness, and unsteady temper, was
"principally owing his majesty's affairs having
"prospered so ill in these parts:" of this the
vice admiral also acquainted the Duke of New-
castle; adding, that if he lived to come home,
he could sufficiently explain the particulars to his
majesty, whenever required; and strongly solli-
cited to be recalled from so disagreeable a com-
mand, where he found his presence could be of
no service to his king or country, while the ar-
my was under the direction of such a com-
mander.

BEFORE the arrival of the land forces at Ja-
maica, the vice admiral had lived in a constant
good harmony with Governor Trelawney, hav-
ing always met his ready concurrence in favour-
ing every thing he proposed to him for the na-
tional service: but whether it was from having
counselling infused into his head by General
Wentworth,

Wentworth, or whatever else, he seemed to the vice admiral, since his delusive project against Panama, to join in all clamours against the fleet, and to find a general fault with every thing he approved of before : he had, in a very extraordinary manner, denounced a formal enmity against Sir Chaloner Ogle, and indicted him for an assault, the governor himself being the only evidence to prove it ; though the governor was fully proved, by Vice Admiral Vernon, to be the aggressor, in applying injurious words to Sir Chaloner Ogle, and drawing his sword upon him in his own house.

THE land forces were now greatly reduced ; and the several ships of war wanted many hands of their complements : in this situation, on the 24th of August, the vice admiral received a letter, dated the 20th of July, from William Bull, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor of South Carolina, acquainting him of a descent being made, in small embarkations, upon the infant colony of Georgia, by the Spaniards ; and inviting him to take the favourable opportunity of attacking Augustine, then deserted of its main force on this enterprize. On which the vice admiral summoned a general council of war ; and, with Sir Chaloner Ogle, deliberated on this affair, the other members paying no obedience to the signal ; though, on the 4th of September, the two admirals were met by the two generals, and held a council of war, when it was unanimously resolved, “ That though the acquisition of Augustine would be desirous for the security of Carolina, as a well and advanced frontier ; yet the feeble condition of Jamaica, whose security consisted in the fleet and army, and the Spanish squadron at the Havannah being

PART “ larger than the British squadron at Jamaica,

III. “ prevented it, as they could more speedily convey succours to Augustine: but if Carolina

1742. “ should be attacked, it was agreed to send 500 men to Charles Town.” A detachment of 500 men, under Colonel Durour, and seven transports, were immediately appointed to proceed to Charles Town in South Carolina, under convoy of Capt. Broderick in the Shoreham man of war, and the Spy sloop; with orders, if they did not attack Augustine, for part of them to recruit General Oglethorpe’s regiment, and, the rest, with the commanding officer, to return to England, though they had a subsequent order to return to Jamaica; and the convoy, with the transports, and soldiers, set sail on the 14th.

THE vice admiral had been diligently employed in repairing the squadron, and detaching the clean ships on proper stations for procuring intelligence and intercepting the Spanish trade; and to his great pleasure, on the 23d of September, arrived Capt. Fowke in the Gibraltar man of war, at Port Royal, with the long wished for letters from the Duke of Newcastle, and orders “ For Vice Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth to return to England; the “ vice admiral leaving the command of the “ fleet to Sir Chaloner Ogle, and the general “ to supply the fleet with what number of soldiers should be demanded for that service, “ to be under the command of the admiral; “ and after completing the eight independent “ companies of Jamaica, for the security of the “ island, to return the remaining corps of officers and soldiers on board the transports for “ England; and in case of there not being sufficient men to supply the fleet and indepen-
“ dent

“dent companies, to leave complete companies
“of the American regiment, to make up the
“number wanted, provided they were willing.”

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THE vice admiral and Sir Chaloner Ogle, held several councils of war, to consult measures for putting the island and the fleet in the best condition they were able; and acquainted General Wentworth, that 1,100 marines was the least number they thought the fleet ought to be supplied with, commission and non-commission officers included; which, together with the numbers wanted to complete the independent companies, were all the healthy men remaining in the army, exclusive of the Americans; and they were accordingly disposed on board the fleet, or incorporated in the independent companies, and the feeble men ordered to return to England, on board the transports, under convoy of Capt. Cleland in the Worcester. The Defiance, and Lightning bomb-kech were also ordered home with the convoy, and the captain of the Defiance, was ordered to accommodate General Wentworth in his passage, while the vice admiral was preparing to return in the Boyne.

As the vice admiral had lived in that friendship with Sir Chaloner Ogle, as to have kept nothing a secret from him; he now gave him all the light he could, in regard to services to be performed on a French war, or otherwise; leaving him copies of all such papers as he judged might be of use to him; neither did he desire, or could Sir Chaloner Ogle expect, to serve at the head of a better sett of officers. And the vice admiral, being willing to attempt a reconciliation between Sir Chaloner Ogle and Governor Trelawney, before his leaving Jamaica, as he judged it to be most essential for his majesty's

PART service, on the 4th of October, he wrote to the

III. governor on this subject ; recommending it to
 1742. his excellency, as he was the aggressor, to make
 an apology to Sir Chaloner Ogle for his indecent
 transports of passion ; who, the vice admiral was
 persuaded, would make no difficulty of accept-
 ing a gentleman-like apology, in order to their
 carrying on the royal service with the harmony
 that ought to subsist between officers in the ser-
 vice of the same prince. Which the governor
 answered, by letting him know, “ That he was
 “ willing to suspend all thoughts of the late un-
 “ happy affair, till Sir Chaloner and he were
 “ out of their respective stations, so as they
 “ might not talk, or even think, of it till then ;
 “ taking no more notice of it, than if nothing
 “ had happened ; for as to apology the case
 “ would admit of none on either side.” From
 whence it was apparent, nothing advantageous
 to the national service could be for the future ex-
 pected, while such animosity was subsisting be-
 tween the principal persons entrusted with the
 important secrets relating to the West-Indies.

BEFORE the departure of the vice admiral
 from Jamaica, he informed the Duke of New-
 castle ; “ That he could not be insensible ; how
 “ great a concern the disappointments on their
 “ several expeditions must have been to his royal
 “ master ; but begged leave, at the same time,
 “ to say, in behalf of himself and the officers
 “ and men that had served under his command,
 “ that no part of the disappointment was justly
 “ to be attributed to the sea forces ; nor did he
 “ think it was in want of courage or inclination
 “ to serve his majesty in the land forces ; but
 “ that this unhappy event was principally owing
 “ to the command falling into the hands of Ge-
 “ neral

"neral Wentworth, who had approved himself

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"no ways equal to it. And though the vice

II.

"admiral pretended to little experience in mili-

"tary affairs by land, yet it was his opinion, that

1742.

"if the sole command had been in him, both on

"the Carthagena expedition and the Cuba one

"too, that the British forces would have made

"themselves masters both of Carthagena and

"St Jago, and with the loss of much fewer men

"than had died through the imprudent conduct

"of General Wentworth, in many instances."

The government was now sensible of the disadvantages attending a divided command between the land and naval commanders; and had given Sir Chaloner Ogle the absolute authority over the marines which were ordered on board the fleet. Long will it be remembered, and greatly ought it to be lamented, that the chief command of this potent armament was not vested in Vice Admiral Vernon, who came out of England in the rank of a lieutenant-general, and as a senior officer, was justly intitled to it: he was the most proper commander, though a sea officer, for the conduct of military operations on shore, by an army in the West-Indies, where he had twice served in the wars of Queen Anne, and was not only universally acknowledged to be the most excellent sailor in the British navy, but had given the most convincing proofs of an eminent capacity for conducting and regulating so numerous a body of forces to the greatest advantage; being undoubtedly better acquainted with the nature of the West-Indies, than any other officer of his time. When posterity shall reflect that this formidable army, instead of conquering the whole Indies from the Spaniards, as it was strongly expected; after the expence of more
than

PART than a million, exhausted in raising 8,000 ma-

III. rines, and transporting them to, and maintain-
ing them in, the West-Indies; besides the ex-

1742. pence of the two old regiments, the Americans,
and large bodies of Negroes; how will they be
astonished to find, that, through the imprudence
of their general officer, this considerable army
was diminished in so surprizing a manner, as to
lose near 10,000 men; and to be too feeble ever
after, to undertake any important expedition
against the Spaniards!

ON the 19th of October Vice Admiral Ver-
non, in the *Byrne*, set sail from Port Royal, on
his return to England, attended by the *Princess*
Royal hospital ship, and the *Phaeton* fire-ship;
leaving the *Worcester*, the *Defiance*, and *Light-*
ning bomb-ketch, to convoy General Went-
worth, the transports, and merchant ships, who
soon after set sail and arrived safely in England,
a short time after the vice admiral.



Printed by J. H. R. and J. W. R. at the
Printers, in the Strand, near the
Royal Exchange, London.



CHAPTER III.

The continuation of COMMODORE ANSON'S expedition in the SOUTH SEAS, from the destruction of PAITA, to his arrival at MACAO in CHINA : comprehending reflections on the nature of the enterprize, and the state of the SPANISH provinces : with an account of the preparations for intercepting the MANILA Galleon : the transactions at CHEQUETAN : the run from MEXICO to the LADRONES : a description of the beautiful island of TINIAN : the difficulties the commodore underwent, before his arrival in CHINA ; and his proceedings with the regency of CANTON.

NEVER was a commander of more eminent abilities, to prosecute the dangerous and laborious voyage round the continent of America, than Commodore Anson ; because he
was

CHAL.
III.

1742.

PART was an experienced seaman, and an accomplished

III. officer; his resolution was noble, his gratitude great, his patience admirable, and his temper calm and unruffled as the pacific ocean in its most serenity: so that none were more capable of discharging his important command.

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On the arrival of Commodore Anson in the southern ocean, the Spanish provinces were wretchedly provided with arms, stores, and ammunition; and the garrisons had fallen into a total neglect of all military regulations. If the whole squadron had happily accomplished their passage round Cape Horn, the British commodore would have been in a condition to have dispossessed the Spaniards from their strongest fortifications, either in Peru or Mexico: for there were only two places, on all the coast of the South Seas, which could be supposed capable of resisting such a squadron; these were the cities of Panama and Callao the port of Lima: as to the first, the fortifications were so decayed, and the garrison was so much in want of powder, that the president himself, in an intercepted letter, acknowledged it was incapable of being defended; nor was the city and port of Callao in a better condition than Panama, though it is the key of the whole kingdom of Peru. Had Commodore Anson, according to his wishes, set sail from England at the beginning of the spring, instead of being detained till the latter end of summer, he might have arrived on the coast of Patagonia in a reasonable part of the year; when his whole squadron might have got round Cape Horn with an inconsiderable loss, and without any material damage to their ships and rigging; but by being imprudently retarded to the 18th of September before they departed from St Helena, they

they were unhappily obliged to attempt the dangerous passage of Cape Horn in the most improper part of the year, passing through Straights le Maire on the 7th of March ; whereby the chief strength of the Squadron was separated, and the remainder, after sustaining a great diminution of men, were unable to get into the southern ocean before the 30th of April, being then incapable of making those advantageous acquisitions, which the unprovided condition of the Spaniards gave them the greatest opportunity of accomplishing. The Duke and Dukes, two privateers formerly fitted out from Bristol on such an expedition, who between them had above 300 men, buried no more than two from the coast of Brazil to Juan Fernandes ; whence, as men of war are much better accommodated than privateers, the Squadron, under Commodore Anson, might, with the greatest probability, have appeared before Baldivia, a port town of the province of Chili, in full strength ; and, with 1,500 men, would have been in a capacity of entering immediately on action. Baldivia was at that time in a very indefensible state ; the cannon incapable of service ; the garrison, in great measure, unarmed ; the inhabitants, most of them, banished convicts, and half starved ; and it is well known, from very particular intelligence, that there were not 300 fire arms, of which too the greatest part were match-locks, in all the province of Chili : so that the town of Baldivia, must have readily submitted ; which would have been a very important acquisition ; since a place with such an excellent port, when once in possession of the British subjects, would immediately make them terrible to the whole kingdom of Chili, and would have awed the most distant

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parts of the Spanish empire in America; the aided by other advantages, might have given violent shock to the authority of Spain on the whole continent; and might have rendered some at least, of her provinces independent; while would certainly have turned the whole attention of the Spanish ministry, to that part of the world, where the danger would have been pressing and immediate: and thence Great Britain, and her allies, might have been disencumbered of the numerous difficulties, which the wealth of the Spanish Indies, operating in conjunction with the intrigues of France, had constantly thrown in their way.

HAD the British Squadron arrived in security in the southern ocean, this was the most favorable conjuncture they could have desired; it only from the feeble state of the provinces bordering on these seas, but from the disposition of the inhabitants, both Spaniards and Indians. The Creolian subjects were extremely disaffected, being fully persuaded, that the affairs of Spain for many years before, had been managed under the influence of a particular foreign interest, altogether detached from the advantages of the Spanish nation; and believed, that the inhabitants of these distant provinces, were to be sacrificed to an ambition, which never considered the convenience or emoluments, nor paid any regard to the reputation of their name, or the honour of their country. The Indians, on almost every frontier, were universally discontented and seemed to be watching, with impatience, for a favourable moment to revolt, and take a severe revenge for the barbarities, they, and their ancestors, had groaned under for more than centuries. The Indians traditionally preserve

the remembrance of the Spanish barbarity ; and, in their public feasts, and annual solemnities, constantly revive the remembrance of those tragic incidents, that occasioned the massacre of their beloved Inca, Atapalipa ; that proved the destruction of their monarchy ; the extinction of their religion ; and the slaughter of their progenitors : and such as have been present at these festivals, have generally observed, that all recitals, and representations of this kind, were received with emotions so vehement, and with such enthusiastic rage, as evidently demonstrated how strongly these injuries were implanted in their memory, and how the means of revenge would, at all times, be acceptable. Very probably every bordering nation, or community, of Indians, would have taken, up arms, on the slightest encouragement ; but more, particularly those in the southern part of Peru, as likewise the Araucos, and the rest of the Chilian Indians ; the most terrible, and powerful, of that name, on the Spanish continent ; who, in preserving their liberty, have been frequently successful against the Spaniards, and possess, at this time, a large tract of country, which was formerly full of Spanish towns and villages, whose inhabitants were all either destroyed, or carried into captivity, by these bold and resolute savages. They were now the more inclined to shew their resentment, because the Spaniards, in some late disputes, had insulted the Indians, with an account of the force they expected from Old Spain, under the command of Admiral Pizarro ; and had vaunted, that he was coming thither, to complete the great work which had been left unfinished by his ancestors. These threats alarmed the Indians, and made them believe that their extirpation

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was resolved on: for the Pizarro's, being the first conquerors of that coast, the Peruvian Indians held the name, and all that bore it, in exception; as all their misfortunes had been perpetrated by that family. The Spanish governors were so fully sensible of the disposition of the Indians, at this conjuncture, and were so apprehensive of a general defection among them, that they started all their industry to reconcile the most dangerous tribes, and to prevent them from immediately taking up arms: among the rest, the president of Chili, in particular, made ample concessions to the Araucos, and the other Chilian Indians, by which, and by distributing considerable presents to their principal leaders, he, at last, got them to consent to a prolongation of the truce between the two nations. But those negotiations were not concluded at the time when the British Squadron might have been in the South Seas; and, had they been completed, yet the inveterate aversion of these Indians to the Spaniards was so great, that it would have been impossible for their chiefs, how deeply soever corrupted, to have kept them from joining the British forces; who, if they had arrived with the collected strength of the Squadron, and taken Bahiavid, the Araucos, Fulches, and Penguinets Indians, inhabiting the banks of the river Imperial, about twenty-five leagues to the northward of this place, would have been encouraged immediately to have taken up arms. These Indians can bring into the field near 30,000 men, the greatest part of them horse, and their first stop would have been the invasion of the province of Chili, where the luxurious and effeminate Spaniards would have been incapable, on such an emergency, of giving any opposition, to this rugged and undaunted enemy.

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It is apparent, what important revolutions might have been effected by the British Squadron, had it departed from England as early as it ought to have done; and from hence it is easy to conclude, what immense advantages might have accrued to the public, had the season for this expedition been as well regulated by the government, as it would have been conducted by the commodore: for these advantages would have been no less, than the total expulsion of the Spaniards from their opulent territories; where the British forces could have maintained their conquest, in defiance of all the efforts of Spain, though seconded by the power of France; who must either have left Great Britain mistress of the Peruvian treasure, or submitted to her terms, and have been contented to receive these provinces back again, as an equivalent for such restrictions, to their future ambition, as she, in her prudence, should have dictated.

As Commodore Anson, with his remaining force was incapable of attempting such material services, he contented himself with the destruction of Paita, and the expectation of possessing the Manila galleon. The destruction of Paita struck the alarm throughout the Spanish provinces; the president of Panama fitted out five ships, of considerable force, to go in quest of the British commodore, not doubting but he must fall an easy prey to their superiority: though the president, being informed of the enterprize projected at Jamaica against Panama, was obliged to recall the crews of these ships, for defending the city, from an attack by land. The governor of Acapulco had immediate intelligence of the plunder and devastation of Paita; he immediately augmented the fortifications of the place;

PART place; took several precautions to prevent Com-

III. modore Anson from forcing his way into the harbour; and in particular, planted a guard on the island, which lies at the mouth of the harbour; and the Centurion's barge, when sent in the middle of February, on the discovery of the port of Acapulco, having been discerned from shore, the governor stopped the galleon till the succeeding year, when he was certain that the British commodore had quitted the coast.

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As the possession of the Manila galleon, celebrated for its opulent cargo, was the principal object of Commodore Anson, whose future projects were chiefly regulated for obtaining a desirable prize; and since the commerce which is carried on, by means of these vessels, between the city of Manila and the port of Acapulco, is the most valuable of any in the universe, I may not be disagreeable to explain the nature of this considerable trade.

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CHARLES V. Emperor of Germany, and King of Spain, having, in the year 1519, sent Don Ferdinand Magellan, a disgusted Portuguese, with five ships and 234 men, on an attempt of pushing their discoveries to the westward of America; Magellan had the good fortune to discover those Streights which have since been denominated from him, and which opened him a passage into the South Seas. This, which was the first part of his scheme, being thus happily accomplished, he, after some continuance on the coast of Peru, set sail again to the westward, with a view of falling in with the Spice islands. In this extensive run across the Pacific ocean, he first discovered the Ladrões, or Marian islands, situate between twelve and twenty-eight degrees of N. latitude, 2,280 leagues west of

of Acapulco, and about 500 leagues east of Can-
ton in China; and, continuing his course, he at
length reached the Philippine islands, which are
the most eastern part of Asia, situate between five
and sixteen degrees of N. latitude, 100 leagues
S. E. of China, and a very little N. E. of the
island of Borneo.

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As these islands were not far distant from those
places which produced the spices, and were very
well situated for the Chinese trade, and for the
commerce of other parts of India, a communica-
tion was soon established; and carefully support-
ed, between these islands and the Spanish colonies
on the coast of Peru.

The Spaniards soon dispossessed the Indians,
and became proprietors of most of the Philippine
islands; of which Luconia is the principal, being
400 miles in length, and 200 miles in breadth;
and here the Spaniards fixed their chief resi-
dence, in the city of Manila, which speedily be-
came the mart for all Indian commodities, as
spices, silks, calicoes, cloths, and gold work,
brought up by the inhabitants, and from thence
annually sent to the southern coast of America,
to be there vended on their account.

These commodities were formerly carried to
Callao; but the trade is now confined only to
Acapulco. This trade from Manila to Acapulco,
and back again, is usually carried on in one, or
at most two annual ships; which set sail from Ma-
nila about July, and arrive at Acapulco in the
December, January, or February following;
and, having there disposed of their effects, re-
turn for Manila, some time in March, where
they generally arrive in June; so that the voyage
is seldom completed in less than an entire year.
These ships employed in this commerce, are stout
vessels,

PART vessels, of the burthen of 1,200 ton, and up

III. wards, and usually carry from 350 to 600 hands

passengers included, with fifty-odd guns : as the

1742. are ships commissioned and paid by the king

there is usually one amongst the captains stile

the general, and he carries the royal standard o

Spain at the main-top-gallant mast-head. Th

trade is not laid open to all the inhabitants o

Manila, but is confined by very particular regu

lations, somewhat analogous to the restriction

of the register ships from Cadiz to the West

Indies ; being limited to a certain value, whic

the annual cargo ought not to exceed : this li

mitation is to the value of 600,000 dollars, whic

nevertheless is always exceeded ; and the retur

from Acapulco is generally about three million

of dollars.

COMMODORE ANSON, imagining his arriva

on the coast of Mexico had been undiscovered,

and that the 3d of March was fixed for the de

parture of the galleon from Acapulco, made all

necessary preparations, and waited with the ut

most impatience for the important moment. His

squadron now consisted of the Centurion, and the

Gloucester ; the Tryal's prize, the Carmelo, and

Carmin, all three taken from the Spaniards ; and

the whole crew on board all the ships, amounted

to no more than 330 hands, with boys included,

besides a considerable number of Negroes from

Paita. The commodore, having continued for

about a fortnight to the westward of Acapulco,

regulated the orders, signals, and positions, to

be observed when the ships arrived off of that

port ; where, on the 1st of March, he made the

high lands, and distributed his squadron in the

best situation for intercepting the galleon, and

for avoiding a discovery from the shore. Here

the

the squadron lay in a sweep of twenty-four leagues in extent, and the cutters were ordered within three for a closer observation when the galleon should make her appearance: but all this vigilance was ineffectually bestowed; and, when the 15th of March arrived, the commodore began to be of opinion, that he had been discovered, which had occasioned, and would still continue, the detention of the galleon. In consequence of this opinion, the commodore formed a plan for possessing himself of Acapulco; because he had no doubt, but the treasure as yet remained in the town, even though the orders for dispatching the galleon were countermanded. Indeed, the place was too well defended to be carried by an open attempt, with so inconsiderable a force; since, besides the garrison and the crew of the galleon, there were in it at least a thousand men well armed, who had marched thither as guards to the treasure when it was brought down from the city of Mexico; for the roads thereabouts are so much infested, either by independent Indians, or fugitives, that the Spaniards never trust the silver, without an armed force to protect it. Besides, had the strength of the place been less considerable, and such as might not have appeared superior to the efforts of this little squadron; yet a declared attack would have prevented them receiving any advantages from the success; for, upon the first discovery of the squadron, all the treasure would have been ordered into the country, and in a few hours would have been out of their reach; so that their conquest would have been only a desolate town, where they would have found nothing that could countervail the fatigue and hazard of the undertaking. For these reasons, the surprisal of the place was the

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only method that could at all answer their purpose; and therefore, the manner in which the commodore proposed to conduct this enterprize was, by setting sail with the squadron in the evening, time enough to arrive at the port in the night; which is, by much, the securest and finest in all the northern parts of the pacific ocean, being, as it were, a basin surrounded by exceeding high mountains. As there is no danger on that coast, the commodore would have stood boldly for the mouth of the harbour; where he expected to arrive, and perhaps might have entered, before the Spaniards were acquainted with his designs: as soon as he had run into the harbour, he intended to have pushed 200 men on shore, in the boats; who were immediately to attempt the fort which defended the entrance; while the commodore, with his ships, was employed in firing upon the town, and the other batteries. These different operations, under the direction of so prudent an officer, which might have been executed with great regularity, could hardly have failed of succeeding, against an enemy who would have been prevented by the suddenness of the attack, and by the want of daylight, from concerting any measures for their defence: so that it was extremely probable, that he might have carried the fort by storm; and then the other batteries, being open behind, must have been soon abandoned; after which the town, inhabitants, and all the treasure must necessarily have fallen into his hands: for the place is so cooped up, with mountains, that it is scarcely possible to escape out of it, but by the great road which passes under the fort. This was the project, which the commodore had thus far settled generally in his thoughts; but, when he began

began to enquire into such circumstances as were necessary to be considered, in order to regulate the particulars of the execution, he found there was a difficulty, which, being insuperable, occasioned the enterprize to be laid aside: as on examining the prisoners, about the winds which prevail near the shore, the commodore learnt, and it was afterwards confirmed by the officers of the cutters, that, nearer in shore, there was always a dead calm for the greatest part of the night; and that towards morning, when a gale sprung up, it constantly blew off the land; so that the setting sail from their present station in the evening, and arriving at Acapulco before daylight, was impossible.

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THIS scheme was formed by the commodore, upon a supposition that the galleon was detained till the next year: but as this was a matter of opinion only, not founded on intelligence, and there being a possibility that she might still put to sea in a short time; the commodore thought it prudent to continue cruising on his present station, as long as the necessary attention to his stores of wood and water, and to the convenient season for his future passage to China, would give him leave. And therefore, as the cutters had been ordered to remain before Acapulco till the 23d of March, the squadron continued in the same position till that day, and the next morning discovered the cutters, who had seen nothing of the galleon, and had been driven a great distance to leeward. The prolongation of this cruise was a very prudent measure, and afforded no contemptible chance of seizing the treasure for which the whole squadron had been so long anxiously waiting: for, after the embargo was laid on the galleon, the persons principally

interested in the cargo, dispatched several expresses to Mexico, to petition that she might still be permitted to depart; because they had information, sent from Paita, that the squadron had no more than 300 men on board; whence they insisted there was no danger to be suspected; as the galleon, carrying double that number, would be greatly superior to the whole squadron: and though the vice-roy was inflexible, yet, on the account of their representation, she was kept ready for the sea near three weeks after the first order came to detain her.

WHEN they had taken up the cutters, all the ships being joined, the commodore made a signal to speak with their commanders; and, upon enquiry into the stock of fresh water remaining on board the squadron, it was found to be so very slender, that they were under a necessity of quitting their station to procure a fresh supply. Consulting what place was the properest for this purpose, it was agreed, that the harbour of Seguataneio, or Chequetan, being the nearest, it was, on that account, the most eligible; so that it was immediately resolved to make the best of their way thither: but that, even while they were recruiting their water, they might not totally abandon their views upon the galleon, which perhaps, from certain intelligence of the squadron being employed at Chequetan, might venture to slip out to sea; the cutter belonging to the Centurion was ordered, under the command of Lieutenant Hughes, with six of the best seamen, to cruise off the port of Acapulco for twenty-four days; that, if the galleon should sail in that interval, the commodore might be speedily informed of it. In pursuance of these resolutions, the squadron plied to the westward; and,

and, by the 1st of April, were so far advanced CHAP. III.
towards Chequetan, that the commodore thought
it expedient to send out two boats to range along
the coast and discover the watering place; who 1742.
returned on the 5th, having, about seven miles
to the westward of the rocks of Seguarancio,
met with a convenient place for that purpose:
the next day the boats sounded the harbour and
found it safe, and the entrance free from any
danger: upon which, on the 7th, the Squadron
stood for it; and that evening the *Centurion*
and *Gloucester* came to an anchor in eleven fa-
thom; though the other ships, having fallen to
leeward, did not come up till two days after-
wards: so that the Squadron, after a four months
continuance at sea from the leaving of *Quibo*,
arrived very seasonably in the harbour of *Che-*
quetan, having, at that time, only six days wa-
ter on board.

THE harbour of Chequetan lies in the latitude
of 17 deg. 36 m. north, about thirty leagues
to the westward of Acapulco; and though the
conveniency of this port, particularly in the ar-
ticles of refreshment, are not the most desirable,
yet is it a place of consequence; for, excepting
Acapulco, there is no other secure harbour in a
vast extent of coast: besides, it lies at a proper
distance, from Acapulco, for favouring any de-
sign on the Manila galleon; and is a place where
wood and water may be procured, with great
security, in despite of the efforts of the inha-
bitants of the adjacent districts; for there is but
one narrow path which leads through the woods
into the country, and this is easily to be secured,
by a very small party, against all the strength
the Spaniards in that neighbourhood can
muster,

PART As the country hereabouts, particularly the
III. tract of coast for eighteen leagues from Aca-
 — pulco, appeared to be full of villages and well
 1742. cultivated; the commodore was in hopes of pro-
 curing some fresh provisions, and other refresh-
 ments, of which the squadron was in great ne-
 cessity. To facilitate these views, the commo-
 dore, the morning after they came to an anchor,
 sent ninety men well armed on shore; fifty of
 whom were employed to cover the watering
 place, and to prevent any interruption from the
 natives; and the remaining forty were ordered
 to march into the country, and to endeavour
 to discover some town or village, where they
 were to attempt to set on foot a correspondence
 with the inhabitants; being directed to proceed
 with the greatest circumspection, and to make
 as little ostentation of hostility as possible: for
 the commodore was sensible he could find no
 wealth in these parts worthy notice, and what
 necessaries were really wanted, he expected would
 be better and more abundantly supplied, by an
 open amicable traffic with the coarse merchan-
 dise he had taken, than by violence and force
 of arms. But this endeavour of opening a com-
 merce with the inhabitants proved ineffectual;
 for the party, after penetrating about ten miles
 into the country, and perceiving no signs of
 plantations, or cultivated land, in the road they
 had taken, they returned the same evening,
 greatly fatigued by their unusual exercise; thought
 if they had taken another road to the west, in-
 stead of the east, they would soon have been
 led to a village, about seven miles distant from
 the port.

THE watering place is situate at the head of
 the harbour, having the appearance of a large
 standing

standing lake, without any visible outlet into the sea, from which it is separated by a part of the strand; though the water bubbles from a spring near half a mile within the country; it is a little brackish, but more considerably so towards the sea, for the nearer they advanced to the spring-head the softer and fresher it proved. This laid them under a necessity of filling all their casks from the furthest part of the lake; which they did, by making use of canoes, that drew but little water; for loading them with a number of small casks, they easily got up the lake to the spring-head, and filling the small casks, they were from thence, in the same manner, transported back again to the beach, where some of the seamen always attended to start them into other casks of a larger size.

As there was but one path-way from the harbour, which led through the woods into the country; and this being much beaten, was a convincing proof that it was well known to the inhabitants, which passing by the spring-head, and being the only avenue by which the Spaniards could approach the men who were procuring the water; the commodore gave orders, to fell several large trees, at some distance beyond the spring-head; and to have them laid, one upon another, across the path, to form a barricado; where, as soon as it was completed, a guard was constantly kept. Though the principal intention of this barricado was to prevent any sudden attack from the inhabitants, yet it answered another important purpose, by preventing the sailors from stragling singly into the country, where the Spaniards might surprize them; and for avoiding of this inconvenience, the strictest orders were given to the centinels,

PART to let no person whatever pass beyond their post.

III. But notwithstanding this precaution, they missed
 } one Lewis Leger, who was cook to the commodore : as he was a Frenchman, and suspected to
 1742. be a papist, it was then imagined that he had deserted, with a view of betraying all that he knew to the Spaniards ; though this appeared, by the event, to be an ill-grounded surmise : for it was afterwards known, that he had rambled into the woods, at some distance from the barricado, with a view to get a quantity of limes ; where he was surprized by four Indians, who stripped him naked, and carried him, in that condition, to Acapulco ; from whence he was transferred to Mexico, and then to Vera Cruz, where he was shipped on board a vessel bound to Old Spain : but the vessel being obliged, by some accident, to put into Lisbon, Leger escaped on shore ; and was, by the British consul, sent from thence to England ; where he brought the first authentic account of the commodore, and of his principal transactions in the South Seas.

ON occasion of this surprisal of Leger, the Spaniards assembled in a considerable body ; and though they never appeared in sight during the time the squadron was in the harbour, yet it was perceptible, that large parties of them lay encamped in the adjacent woods : for the sailors could distinguish their smokes, and from thence determine that they were posted in a circular line, surrounding them at a distance ; and, just before the departure of the squadron, they seemed, by the increase of their fires, to have received a considerable reinforcement.

SOME time after the captivity of Leger, Lieutenant Brett was sent by the commodore, with two boats and sixteen men, to examine the coast

to the eastward ; and particularly to make ob-
servations on the bay and watering place of Pe-
taplan, a few leagues distant from Chequetan.

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As the lieutenant, with one of the boats, was

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preparing to go on shore towards the hill of Pe-
taplan, he, accidentally looking across the bay,
perceived, on the opposite strand, three small
squadrons of horse parading upon the beach,
seemingly determined to advance towards the
place where the lieutenant proposed to land.
On sight of the Spaniards, the lieutenant im-
mediately put off the boats, and stood over the bay
towards them ; and he soon came near enough
to perceive that they were mounted, on very
light horses, and were armed with carbines and
lances. The Spaniards, on seeing the boats ap-
proaching towards them, formed upon the beach,
with a seeming resolution to dispute the landing,
firing several shot as they drew near ; till at last,
the boats being arrived within a reasonable dis-
tance with the most advanced squadron, Lieute-
nant Brett ordered his people to fire ; upon
which, this resolute cavalry instantly ran with
great confusion into a neighbouring wood ; while
the two other squadrons were calm spectators of
the shameful rout of their comrades, never ad-
vancing a step to their assistance, though they
could have made a body of 200 men.

AFTER unsuccessfully attempting to engage
the inhabitants to furnish the squadron with the
necessaries they wanted ; the commodore desisted
from any more endeavours of the same nature,
and was obliged to be contented with what his
own men could procure in the neighbourhood of
the port ; where they caught fish and turtle, in
tolerable quantities ; and were plentifully pro-
vided with guanoes, animals so far from being

PART contemptible, that they are by some accounted
 III. delicious food. Birds were here in sufficient

plenty; for they had abundance of Pheasants of
 1742. different kinds, some of them of an uncommon
 size, but they were all very dry and tasteless eat-
 ing: besides these they had a variety of smaller
 birds, particularly parrots, which they often
 killed for food; though the fruits and vegetable
 refreshments were neither plentiful nor excel-
 lent.

DURING their continuance in the harbour of
 Chequetan, they completed the unloading of the
 Carmelo and Carmin, which the commodore had
 before determined to destroy, after saving the
 indico, cocoa, and cochineal, with some iron
 for ballast; which were all the goods he intend-
 ed to preserve, though they did not amount to
 a tenth of their cargoes. Here too it was agreed,
 after a mature consultation, also to destroy the
 Tryal's prize, which indeed was in good repair,
 and fit for the sea; but, as the whole numbers
 on board the squadron did not amount to the
 complement of a fourth rate man of war, it was
 found impossible to divide them into three ships,
 without rendering them all incapable of naviga-
 ting in safety, through the tempestuous weather,
 they had reason to expect, on the coast of China;
 where, it was conjectured, they would arrive
 about the time of the change of the monsoon,
 being about the middle of June. These consid-
 erations determined the commodore to destroy
 the Tryal's prize, and to reinforce the Glou-
 cester with the best part of her crew, and the
 Centurion with the remainder. In consequence
 of this resolve, all the stores on board the Tryal's
 prize, were removed into the other ships; and the
 three prizes were prepared for scuttling with all
 expedi-

expedition : but the great difficulties the Squadron was under in providing a store of water, together with the necessary repairs of the rigging, and other unavoidable occupations, took up so much time, and required such unexpected employment, that it was near the end of April before they were in a condition to leave the place.

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On the 27th of April, the Tryal's prize, the Carmelo, and Carmin, were towed on shore and scuttled ; a quantity of combustible materials having been distributed in their upper works : and, the next morning, the Centurion, with the Gloucester, weighed anchor ; and, when they had reached the offing, one of the boats was dispatched back again, to set fire to the prizes ; which was accordingly executed. After this, a canoe was left fixed to a grapnel in the middle of the harbour, with a bottle in it, well corked, inclosing a letter to Lieutenant Hughes, who had been left cruising in the cutter before the port of Acapulco, since the departure of the Squadron from that station ; and his time limited to return, being considerably elapsed, he was directed, " To go back immediately to his former station before Acapulco, where he would find the commodore, who resolved to cruise for him there a certain number of days ; after which, it was added, that the commodore would return to the southward, to join the rest of the Squadron." This last article was inserted to deceive the Spaniards, if they got possession of the canoe, as they did ; but it could not impose on the lieutenant, who could easily perceive for what it was intended, because he well knew that the commodore had no Squadron to join, nor any intention of steering back to Peru.

BEING now in the offing of Chequetan, bound across the vast pacific ocean, to the Philippines between which and Mexico, though at the distance of 2,680 leagues, there is not one safe port to be met with, notwithstanding the many islands in that extensive tract: this made the commodore impatient to run off the coast, as soon as possible, since the stormy season was hastily approaching. As the commodore had no farther views in the American seas, he expected to have met with no disappointment from steering to the westward, the moment he had got out of the harbour of Chequetan; but the cutter was not yet returned from her cruise, which gave the commodore reason to suspect that she had been discovered, and seized by the Spaniards: however, this being only conjecture, he stood along the coast to the eastward in search of her. On the 2d of May, the Centurion and Gloucester advanced within three leagues of Acapulco; and having seen nothing of the cutter, she was given over as lost. It being the general opinion that the cutter was taken and carried into Acapulco and the commodore, having many Spanish and Indian prisoners in his possession, and a number of sick Negroes, who could be of no service navigating the ships; he therefore wrote a letter, the same day, to the governor of Acapulco telling him, he would release them all, provided the governor returned the crew belonging to the cutter. This letter was dispatched by a Spanish officer, furnished with a launch and a crew of other prisoners, who gave their parole for their return; but, the wind being unfavourable, the ships were driven a great distance from shore, and the fifth in the morning, when they discovered the cutter; who had kept the sea above

weeks, having been forced, by a strong adverse CHAP.
current, down the coast to the eastward, in III.
spight of all their endeavors to the contrary, 1742.
where they suffered inexpressible hardships; for,
when taken into the ships, they were too feeble
to stand, but being immediately put to bed, by
rest, and nourishing diet, they recovered their
health and vigour.

HAVING thus recovered the cutter, the commodore determined to run off the coast with the utmost expedition; and, for this reason, he no longer stood towards Acapulco, as he then wanted no answer from the governor: but not to deprive his prisoners of the liberty he had promised them, they were immediately embarked in two launches belonging to the prizes, being fifty-seven in number, the greatest part of them Spaniards, and the rest Indians and Negroes; the Mulattoes, and some of the stoutest Negroes, with a few Indians, being kept to assist the crews. The launches arrived safe at Acapulco, where the prisoners could not enough extol the humanity with which they had been treated; and found that the governor, before their arrival, had returned a very obliging answer to the letter that was sent him; and had, at the same time, ordered out two boats laden with the choicest refreshments and provisions that were to be procured at Acapulco, which he intended as a present to the commodore: but these boats, being unable to find out the ships, were obliged to put back again, after having thrown all their provisions over board, in a storm, which threatened their destruction.

THE sending away his prisoners, was the last transaction of Commodore Anson on the American coast: when the Centurion and Gloucester made

PART made sail to the S. W. proposing to get a good

III. offering from the land, where they hoped, in a few days, to meet with the regular trade-wind; 1742. which the accounts of former navigators had represented as much brisker and steadier in this ocean than in any other part of the world: for it has been esteemed no uncommon passage, to run, in two months, from Mexico to the easternmost of the Asiatic isles; and they flattered themselves, that they were as capable of making an expeditious voyage, as any ships that had ever sailed this course before them: so that they expected soon to gain the coast of China, for which they were then bound. Thus, on the 6th of May, they, for the last time, lost sight of the mountains of Mexico; persuaded, that in a few weeks, they should arrive at the river of Canton in China, where they hoped to meet with some of their countrymen, and to enjoy the advantages of an amicable well-frequented port, inhabited by a polished people, and abounding with the conveniences and indulgencies of a civilized life; blessings, to which, for near twenty months, they had been entirely estranged.

As the getting into the N. E. trade was a matter of the greatest consequence, they stood far to the southward, and made many experiments to meet with it; but all their efforts were for a long time unsuccessful: so that it was seven weeks, from their leaving the coast, before they got into the true trade-wind. This was an interval, in which they at first believed, well nigh to have reached the easternmost part of Asia; but they were so baffled with contrary and variable winds, which for all that time perplexed them, that they were not as yet advanced above a fourth part of the way. The delay alone would have

have been a sufficient mortification; but there were other melancholy circumstances attending it, which rendered this situation not less terrible than in any of their former calamities: for the two ships were by this time extremely crazy; and though after their departure from Juan Fernandez they had enjoyed a most uninterrupted state of health, till their leaving the coast of Mexico, yet the scurvy now began to make fresh havoc among the people: and they too well knew the effects of this dreadful disease, by their former fatal experience, to suppose that any thing, except a speedy passage, could secure the greater part of the crew from being destroyed by this virulent malady.

HAVING, at length, got into the trade-wind, it continued to favour them, without any fluctuation, from the latter end of June, for almost a month: but, on the 26th of July, having, according to their computation, ran above 2,000 leagues, and being, as they esteemed, about 300 leagues from the Ladrones, they met with a westerly wind, which, not coming about again to the eastward in less than four days, was a disappointing incident, as it at once damped all their hopes of speedy relief; especially too as it was attended with a vexatious accident to the Gloucester, who having split her fore-cap, her fore-top-mast came by the board, and broke her fore-yard directly by the flings, which rendered her incapable of making any sail, and the Centurion took her in tow for ten days, till she was refitted. But these accidents, mortifying as they thought them, were only the commencement of their disasters; for scarce was the Gloucester refitted, before they met with a most violent storm from the western board, which obliged the ships

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PART ships to lie to. At the beginning of this storm

III. the Centurion sprung a leak, and let in so much
 water that all the people, officers included, were
 1742. constantly employed about the pumps: the

Gloucester had her fore-top mast again by the board; and after the storm was abated, which, during its continuance, prevented all communication, Capt. Mitchel informed the commodore, that besides the loss of his masts, the ship had then no less than seven feet water in her hold, although his officers and men had been incessantly labouring at the pumps, for the last twenty-four hours. The commodore sent his boat on board the Gloucester, which returned with a representation of her several defects, signed by Capt. Mitchel, and all his officers; by which it appeared, that the ship had sprung a leak, which the carpenters reported was impossible to be repaired at sea; the crew was greatly reduced; and, out of the survivors, who, officers included, were but seventy-seven men, eighteen boys, and two prisoners, only sixteen men and eleven boys, were capable of keeping the deck; several of these too being very infirm. The commodore, on perusal of this melancholy representation, presently ordered them a supply of water and provisions, and sent his own carpenter on board them, to examine into the truth of every particular; and, it being found that there was no possibility of preserving the Gloucester any longer, as her leaks were irreparable, and the united hands on board both ships would not be able to free her, the commodore, therefore, immediately sent an order to Capt. Mitchel, to put his people on board the Centurion as expeditiously as he could, and to take out all the stores he was able, while the ship could be kept
 above

above water. This removal gave them full employment for two days; but the ship rolled so much, that it was, with the greatest difficulty, that the prize money in the Gloucester could be carried on board the Centurion; and the prize goods, which amounted to several thousand pounds in value, were entirely lost; nor could any more provisions be got out than five casks of flour, three of which were spoiled by the salt-water. The sick, being about seventy, were conveyed into the boats with all the care the circumstances of that time would permit; but three or four of them expired as they were hoisted into the Centurion. On the 15th of August the Gloucester was cleared of all they could get; and, as the carpenters were of opinion she might still remain some time, it was resolved she should be burnt that evening, because they knew not how little distant they might be from the island of Guano, which was in the possession of the Spaniards, to whom the wreck of such a ship would have been no contemptible acquisition. When she was set on fire, captain Mitchel and his officers, none on board the commodore; who immediately stood from the wreck, as it was apprehended, that if she blew up soon, the concussion of the air might damage the rigging of the Centurion; but the Gloucester fortunately continued burning the whole night, so that, though her guns fired successively as the flames reached them, yet it was six in the morning, when the Centurion was about four leagues distant, before she blew up.

A long calm succeeded the late storm; and the scurvy was now so malignant on board the Centurion, as to become extremely alarming; no day passing in which they did not bury eight

PART or ten, and sometimes twelve of their men, and

III. those, who had hitherto continued healthy, began to fall down apace. During the calm, the
 1742. carpenters were employed in searching after the

leak the Centurion had sprung in the late storm, which was discovered to be in the gunner's fore storeroom, where the water rushed in, under the breast-hook, on each side of the stem; but though they discovered the leak, they agreed it was impossible to stop it till they could come at it on the outside; which was evidently a matter not to be attempted till their arrival in port. However, they did the best they could within board, and were fortunate enough to reduce it which was a considerable relief in their feeble condition.

THEY were now endeavouring to get near some of the Ladrone islands, in which they had with other disappointments, from the adverse driving of the currents, which occasioned a universal dejection amongst them, and the most despaired of even seeing land again. The wind springing favourably, on the 23d of August, they were cheered with the discovery of two of the Ladrone islands, in the western board which gave them an unutterable joy. The nearest of these islands was Anatacan, which is about fifteen leagues distant from the ship; the other was Serigan, which had rather the appearance of a rock, than of a place they could hope to anchor at. They were extremely impatient to get in with the nearest island, where they expected to find anchoring ground, and an opportunity of refreshing the sick; but the wind was so variable, it was the next day at noon when they were about four miles from Anatacan before they could send away the boat to examine

the situation and nature of the place: the boat returned in the evening, and spread a general melancholy on board, when it was reported that there was no possibility of anchoring at this island.

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On the 26th of August, in the morning, they left the island of Anatacan, dreading that it was the last land they should ever fix their eyes on: but, the next morning, they discovered three other islands, between ten and fourteen leagues to the eastward. These were the islands of Saypan, Tinian, and Aguigan: they immediately steered towards Tinian, the middlemost of the three; and, about ten the next morning, perceived a proa under sail to the southward, between Tinian and Aguigan. As they imagined from hence that these islands were inhabited; and knowing that the Spaniards have always a force at Guam; they took the necessary precautions for their own security: and, that they might the more readily procure some intelligence of the state of these islands, the commodore ordered them to show Spanish colours, and to hoist a red flag at the fore-top-mast head; hoping, by this stratagem, to give the Centurion the appearance of the Manila galleon, and to decoy some of the inhabitants on board: which effectually answered the intention; for being near enough, at three in the afternoon, to send the cutter in shore to find out a proper birth for the ship; a proa put off from the island to meet the cutter, with a Spaniard and four Indians, on board, who were fully persuaded that they were the Manila galleon. As the cutter had taken them prisoners, without any resistance, the pinace was sent to bring the prisoners on board, while the cutter proceeded on her errand. The

PART Spaniard being immediately examined, as to the

III. produce and circumstances of this island of Tinian; his account of it surpassed even their most

1742. sanguine hopes: for he informed them, that though it was uninhabited, yet it wanted but few of the accommodations that could be expected in the most cultivated country; particularly assuring them, that there was plenty of good water, that there were an incredible number of cattle, hogs, and poultry, running wild on the island, all of them excellent in their kind; that the woods afforded sweet and sour oranges, limes, lemons, and coco-nuts in great abundance; besides a fruit, peculiar to these islands, which served instead of bread: that, from the quantity and goodness of the provisions produced here, the Spaniards, at Guam, made use of it as a store for supplying the garrison, and that he himself was a serjeant of that garrison, who was sent to Tinian, with twenty-two Indians, to jerk beef which he was to load for Guam, on board a small bark, of about fifteen ton, lying at anchor near the shore.

THIS account was received with the greatest pleasure and satisfaction; as they found themselves arrived at a delightful island; where, alone, all their wants could be most amply relieved, the sick recovered, and their enfeebled crew once more refreshed, and enabled to put again to sea. The pinnace was immediately dispatched to seek the Spanish bark, and prevent the Indians on shore from escaping to Guam, and giving the governor intelligence of their arrival; and then about eight in the evening, the Centurion let her anchor, in twenty fathom. At this time all the hands they could muster, capable of standing at a gun, including those absent with the boats

boats, and some Negroes and Indian prisoners, amounted to no more than seventy-one, most of which were also incapable of duty, except on emergent occasions: so great a reduction was there, in the united crews of the *Centurion*, the *Gloucester*, and the *Tryal*, which when they departed from England, consisted, all together, of 800 sailors and about 200 soldiers.

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THE next morning a party was sent on shore, well armed, to make themselves masters of the landing place; who found many huts, which the Indians, who were jerking the beef, had abandoned, having fled themselves into the woods. These huts were converted into hospitals for the sick, who as soon as the place was ready to receive them, were brought on shore, being in all 128. Numbers of these were so very helpless, that they were obliged to be carried from the boats to the hospital, on the others shoulders; in which humane employment, the commodore and every one of his officers, were engaged without distinction.

TINIAN lies in the latitude of 15. deg. 8 m. north, and longitude 114. deg. 50 m. being 2,380 leagues west from Acapulco, and about 600 leagues distant from Macao in China: the island is about twelve miles in length, and about six in breadth, extending from the S. S. W. to N. N. E. The soil is every where dry, and healthy; being somewhat sandy, is thereby the less disposed to a rank and over luxuriant vegetation; and hence the meadows, and the bottoms of the woods, are much neater and smoother than is customary in hot climates. The land rises in gentle slopes, from the very beach, to the middle of the island; though the general course of this ascent, is often interrupted by pleasant

PART. pleasant vallies, many of which wind irregularly

III. through the country: These vallies, and the
 gradual swellings of the ground, which their
 different combinations give rise to, are most

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beautifully diversified by the mutual encroachments of woods and lawns; which, coasting each other, traverse the island in extensive tracts. The woods consist of tall and well spread trees, the greatest part of them celebrated either for their aspect or their fruit: whilst the lawns are usually of a considerable breadth, their turf quite clean and uniform, composed of a very fine trefoil, intermixed with a variety of flowers. From the conveniences of this place, the excellency and quantity of the fruits and provisions, the neatness of the lawns, the stateliness, freshness, and fragrance, of the woods; the happy inequality of the surface, and the variety and elegance of the views it affords; the island, even surpasses, in reality, all the romantic descriptions of other imaginary places: and even these pleasures are enhanced, by the almost constant and grateful breezes, and ever frequent and gentle showers, which cause an extraordinary salubrity of the air; and, by continually preserving the verdure of the soil, seem to give all the pleasures of a perennial spring, to this charming and delightful spot. Nor are the allurements of Tinian, confined only to the excellency of the landscapes; since the fortunate animals, who, during the greatest part of the year, are the sole lords of this happy soil, are no small addition to this admirable scenery: for the cattle, which were computed to be at least 10,000, are certainly the most remarkable in the world, being all of them milk-white, except their ears, which are generally brown or black; and of these, it is not

uncom-

uncommon to see herds of some thousands, feeding together in a large meadow. And though there are no inhabitants here, yet the clamour and frequent parading of domestic poultry, which range the woods in great numbers, perpetually excite the idea of the neighbourhood of farms and villages, and greatly contribute to the cheerfulness and beauty of this terrestrial elisium; which, from its pleasing appearance, has acquired, from the Spaniards, the additional name of *Bucayista*.

THAT an island, thus exquisitely furnished with the conveniences of life, and so well adapted, not only to the subsistence, but likewise, to the enjoyment of mankind, should be entirely destitute of inhabitants, may justly furnish matter of admiration; but this is entirely owing to the Spaniards: for Tinian, and eleven of the neighbouring islands, which all bear the name of the *Ladrones*, because when Magellan first landed here, in 1521, he was robbed by the Indians, were most of them well inhabited; and, even not sixty years ago, the three principal islands, Guam, Rota, and Tinian, together, are asserted to have contained above 50,000 people; but since that time Tinian hath been entirely depopulated, and no more than two or three hundred Indians have been left at Rota, to cultivate rice for the Spaniards, who have a settlement at Guam; where, to increase their numbers that had been taken off by a general sickness, they removed the inhabitants of the other islands: who, pining beneath their slavery, have almost extinguished the whole race of Indians among the *Ladrones*, whose remote situation could not protect them from sharing in the common destruction of the western

PART western world ; all the advantage they received

III. from their distance, being to perish an age or
 two later, by the cruelty of the Spaniards; it
 1742. fatal to a large proportion of the whole human
 species. So that now Guam alone can properly
 be said to be inhabited ; which is the only settle-
 ment the Spaniards have among the Ladrões,
 and was purposely intended to serve that place,
 for the refreshment and assistance of the Manila
 galleon, in her passage. The island is about
 thirty leagues in circumference, and contains
 near 4,000 inhabitants ; of which 1,000 live in
 the city of San Ignatio de Agana, where the
 governor generally resides, who has only a gar-
 rison of three companies of foot, betwixt forty
 and fifty men each, which is the principal
 strength he has to depend on ; for he cannot
 rely on any assistance from the Indian inhabi-
 tants, being generally upon ill terms with them,
 and so apprehensive of their affections, that they
 are debarred both the use of fire-arms and lances ;
 but the road into the island is so extremely bad,
 that, though the fortifications are very insignifi-
 cant, the governor is in little dread of an at-
 tack.

Soon after the arrival of the Centurion at Ti-
 nian, the healthfulness of the place, and the
 abundance of wholesome and delicate provisions,
 both of cattle, fowl, and vegetables, soon re-
 covered the sick ; who, notwithstanding their
 extreme debility, instantaneously began to feel
 the salutary influence of the land : for though
 they buried twenty-one men on the two first
 days after their being on shore, yet they did
 not lose above ten men more, during the whole
 two months they continued there ; the diseased
 in general being able to walk without assistance
 in

in less than a week ; while such, as were not
entirely helpless, were re-instated in their former strength ; and the more healthy were confirmed in an additional vigour, and stability of body.

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THE carpenters were employed in securing the leak ; but found it was impossible to remedy the defect, till they had an opportunity of heaving down the ship ; which could not be done in this part of the world, where there was not one commodious port for such an occasion : several of the sick being tolerably recovered, by their residence on shore, on the 12th of September, all those who were so far relieved, since their arrival, as to be capable of doing duty, were sent on board the ship ; and then the commodore, who was also ill of the scurvy, had a tent erected for him on shore, where he went, with a view of continuing a few days to establish his health ; being convinced, by the general experience of his people, that no other method, but living on the land, was to be confided in, for the removal of this malignant distemper.

As the new moon was approaching, when they apprehended violent gales, the commodore took every precaution for the security of the ship. Thus effectually prepared, as they conceived, they waited till the new moon, which was the 18th of September, when, riding safe that and the three succeeding days, they flattered themselves that the prudence of their measures had secured them from all accidents : but, on the 22d, the wind blew from the eastward, with such fury, that they soon despaired of riding out the storm. At this time the commodore, with many of his officers, and 113 persons, were on shore ; and in this dreadful extremity, all the hands they

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could

could muster on board the ship, were only 108, several Negroes and Indians included ; and all communication with the shore was absolutely cut off, there being no possibility that a boat could live in so violent a sea : so that they were necessitated to ride it out till their cables parted. The sea broke surprisingly all round them ; and, as the night came on, the violence of the wind increased : which greatly damaged the ship, and put the crew into the utmost consternation, as well for their own security, as for the misfortunes of those on shore, if the ship should be driven off to sea ; as they did not imagine they were able to navigate her, and bring her again, into Tinian, if she should happen to outlive the storm. In this pressing danger, Lieutenant Saumarez, who commanded on board, ordered several guns to be fired, and lights to be shown, as a signal to the commodore of their distress ; and, in a short time after, it being then about one o'clock, and the night excessively dark, a strong gust, attended with rain and lightning, forced the ship out to sea ; leaving those on shore under the most dreadful apprehensions, of never departing from the island ; whilst the crew on board, being utterly unprepared to struggle with the fury of such seas and winds, expected each moment to be their last.

THE people on shore were in the greatest perplexity, as they well knew how poorly the Centurion was manned, and provided for struggling with so tempestuous a gale ; so that their desponding thoughts could only suggest to them, the melancholy prospect of spending the remainder of their days on the island, and bidding adieu for ever to their country, their friends, their families, and all their domestic endearments. Though
the

the plenty, beauty, and convenience of this little Indian paradise, could in some measure alleviate, if not compensate, so great a loss; yet the enjoyment of this, too, could not long be expected, as they had reason to apprehend, that the governor of Guam, would soon be informed of their circumstances, and might send a force sufficient to overpower them, and to remove them to that island; and then, the most favourable treatment they could expect, would be, to be detained prisoners during life: since, from the known policy, and cruelty of the Spaniards, in their distant settlements, it was rather to be supposed, that the governor would make their want of commissions, which were on board the Centurion, a pretext for treating them as pirates, and for depriving them of their lives with ignominy.

THE commodore, though he always maintained his usual composure and steadiness, passed many bitter moments on this melancholy occasion; in a firm belief that the ship would be either lost, or unable to return; and that now all his views, of farther distressing the Spaniards, and of still signalizing his expedition, by some important exploit, were at an end. However, to convey some comfort to his company, the commodore, after well deliberating with the most intelligent persons about him, on the practicability of the scheme, proposed to hale the Spanish bark on shore, to saw her asunder, and to lengthen her twelve feet, which would enlarge her to near forty ton burthen, and enable her to carry them all to China; where, he encouraged them to believe, they might possibly find the Centurion: this was presently agreed to, and they laboriously fell to the execution of it;

PART every one being employed, without distinction,

III. about that work, in which the commodore was as industrious as any, and bore all the manual
 1742. fatigues in common with the meanest of the company. Eighteen days were elapsed since the departure of the Centurion, in which time they had almost completed the bark to their approbation : but their projects and labours were now drawing to a speedier and happier conclusion ; for, on the next day, being the 11th of October, in the afternoon, one of the company, being upon a hill in the middle of the island, perceived the Centurion at a distance, and running down hastily towards the landing place, hallooed out, with great extasy, “ the “ ship ! the ship ! ” which joyful report soon reached to the commodore, who, on hearing such pleasing and unexpected news, threw down his axe, with which he was then at work, and, by his joy, broke through the equable and unvaried character which he had hitherto preserved ; whilst the others, who were present, instantly ran down to the sea-side in a kind of frenzy, eager to feast themselves with a sight they had so ardently longed after, and of which they had, for a considerable time, despaired of ever obtaining. By five in the evening, the Centurion was visible in the offing to them all ; and a boat being sent off, with eighteen men, to reinforce her, and with fresh meat and fruits for the refreshment of the crew, she, the next afternoon, happily cast anchor in the road ; where the commodore immediately came on board her, and was received with the sincerest and heartiest acclamations, by the crew, who lost only one of their company, in encountering the many difficulties and perils they were exposed to : but the rest
 were

were all excessively fatigued, in the laborious CHAP. employment they had, without any intermission, III. undergone, since the rise of this disastrous incident.

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THE commodore now resolved to continue no longer at Tinian, than was absolutely necessary to complete their stock of water ; which was immediately set about : but, on the 14th, being only three days after her arrival, the Centurion, by a sudden gust of wind, was a second time drove out to sea, leaving forty of the men behind, who were killing cattle in the woods ; however, as the weather was favourable, and the crew stronger than when they were first driven out, they, in about five days, returned to the island, and relieved those that had been left behind, from their second fears of being deserted by their ship.

ON coming to an anchor again, they laboured indefatigably at getting in their water ; and having, by the 20th of October, completed it to fifty ton, which they supposed would be sufficient for their passage to Macao ; and having gathered a large quantity of oranges, lemons, coconuts, and other fruits of the island, they set fire to the Spanish bark and proa, and got under sail, on the evening of the next day, steering the proper course for Macao in China, taking their leaves, for the third and last time, of the beautiful island of Tinian.

THE wind was very favourable, and they generally ran from forty to fifty leagues a day ; but a large hollow sea pursuing them, the leak was augmented, and they received great damage in the rigging, which by this time was very rotten : however, the crew were happily in full health ; so that there were no complaints of fatigue,

PART tigue, but all went through their attendance on

III. the pumps, and every other duty of the ship,
 with ease and chearfulness. On the 4th of No-

1742. vember, about noon, they discovered the south-
 ern part of the island of Formosa, being 476
 leagues to the westward of Tinian, and 33 leagues
 to the eastward of the province of Canton in
 China ; on the 5th, at midnight, they made the
 coast of China, but did not arrive within sight
 of Macao till the 12th of November, when they
 happily anchored in the road of that city.

THE city of Macao is a Portuguese settlement,
 situated in an island, at the entrance of the river
 Ta, fifty miles south of Canton, which lies on
 the same river, further up in the country. It
 was formerly rich and populous, and capable of
 defending itself against the power of the adjacent
 Chinese governors ; but at present is much fallen
 from its antient splendor : for though it is inha-
 bited by Portuguese, and hath a governor nomi-
 nated by the King of Portugal, yet it subsists
 merely by the sufferance of the Chinese ; who
 can starve the place, and dispossess the gover-
 nor, whenever they please : which obliges the
 governor of Macao, to behave with great cir-
 cumpection, and carefully to avoid every cir-
 cumstance that may give offence to the Chinese.

THUS, after a fatiguing cruise of above two
 years continuance, the commodore, with the
 remainder of his men, once more arrived at an
 amicable port, and a civilized country ; where
 the conveniencies of life abounded in plenty ;
 and where the naval stores, which they then ex-
 tremely wanted, could be in some degree pro-
 cured. The river Ta is the only Chinese port
 frequented by European ships ; and is, on many
 accounts, a more commodious harbour than Ma-

caao :

caq : but the peculiar customs of the Chinese, CHAP. solely adapted to the entertainment of trading III. ships ; and the apprehensions of the commodore, least he should embroil the English East-India company with the regency of Canton, if he should insist on being treated upon a different footing than the merchant-men ; made him resolve, rather to go to Macao, than to venture into the river Ta : though, if it was not for thus prudentially avoiding to subject the British trade to any inconvenience, the commodore had nothing to fear ; for it is certain, that he might have gone up the river, and entered the port of Canton, where he might have continued, or have left it at his pleasure, although the whole power of the Chinese empire had been brought together to oppose him.

THE Chinese exact a duty from all ships that enter the river Ta, according to their tonnage ; and as they are unacquainted with privileges due to European men of war, who are exempted in every foreign harbour from all manner of port charges, the commodore thought it would be derogatory to the honour of his country, to submit to this duty in China : and therefore, on his coming to anchor before Macao, he dispatched an officer, with his compliments to the Portuguese governor, requesting his advice, and in what manner it would be proper to act, to avoid incurring the displeasure of the Chinese. The governor, in the evening, sent two officers to the commodore, to inform him, that he was of opinion, that if the Centurion ventured into the river, the duty would certainly be expected ; and therefore, if the commodore approved of it, he would send him a pilot who should conduct him into another safe harbour, called the Tupa, which

PART is formed by a number of islands, and lies about
III. two leagues distant from Macao, and was every
 way commodious for careening the ship; and
 1742. where, in all probability, the Chinese duty would
 never be demanded. The commodore accepted
 this offer, and, in the morning, weighed anchor,
 under the direction of the Portuguese pilot, steer-
 ing for the intended harbour: from whence, after
 their arrival, the commodore paid a visit to the
 governor, to solicit him to grant a supply both
 of provisions, and of such naval stores, as were
 necessary to refit the ship. The governor, in a
 friendly manner, assured the commodore, that
 he would privately give him all the assistance in
 his power; but, at the same time, frankly con-
 fessed, that he durst not openly furnish him with
 any thing he demanded, unless he first produced
 an order for it from the vice-roy of Canton. On
 this declaration of the governor, the commodore
 went himself to Canton, to procure a licence
 from the vice-roy; where he found four English
 indiamen, and seven belonging to other nations:
 and having consulted with the supercargoes and
 officers of the English ships, how to procure an
 order from the vice-roy, for the necessaries he
 wanted; they recommended to him their own
 method of transacting all matters relating to the
 government, which was, by the mediation of the
 principal Chinese merchants. Indeed, when ap-
 plication was made to these merchants, they rea-
 dily undertook the management of the business,
 and seemed confident of succeeding: but, after
 keeping the commodore in suspense for near a
 month, with reiterated excuses, they at last avow-
 ed their perfidy, and owned that they neither
 had, nor could make application to the vice-
 roy.

THE commodore was now satisfied, that nothing was to be done by the interposition of the merchants, and returned on board the Centurion, which he found was absolutely necessary to be refitted, before he could venture to sea ; and resolved, at all events, to have her hove down, before he departed from Macao : and therefore, on the 17th of December, being the day after his return from Canton, he sent a letter to the vice-roy, acquainting him who he was, and how he came there ; advising him of the condition of his ship, and his want of provisions ; desiring his excellency, to give immediate orders for his being permitted to refit his ship, and to furnish himself with provisions and stores, that he might be enabled to pursue his voyage to Great Britain. On the 19th, in the morning, three Mandarines, attended by a considerable retinue of officers and servants, having with them eighteen half gallies, furnished with music, and full of men, came on board the Centurion, by order of the vice-roy, to examine the condition of the ship : the chief Mandarin found the representation given by the commodore was entirely true ; and told him, that he should that night proceed for Canton, where, on his arrival, a council of Mandarines would be summoned, and did not doubt, but on his report, the council would amply and speedily grant all that was demanded : besides, as the commodore had acquainted the chief Mandarin, that the custom-house officers at Macao, had forbid any provisions to be carried on board the Centurion ; by which means he was deprived of these refreshments, which were of the utmost consequence to the health of his men, after their long and sickly voyage : the Mandarin undertook to rectify this immediately, by his own authority ;

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PART and desiring a list to be given him of the quantity

III. of provision, necessary for the expence of the

ship during one day, he wrote a permit under

1742. it, and delivered it to one of his attendants, directing him to see that quantity sent on board early every morning; which order, from that time forwards, was punctually complied with.

AFTER their departure, the commodore, with great impatience, expected the resolution of the council, and the proper licences to enable him to refit the ship: but, through the opposition and intrigues of the French at Canton, there were great debates in council upon this affair; for the French, pretending their indiamen to be men of war, their officers were apprehensive that any distinction granted to the commodore, on account of his bearing the royal commission, would render them less considerable in the eyes of the Chinese, and would establish a prepossession at Canton in favour of ships of war; by which they, as trading vessels, would suffer in their importance: and, as they had a countryman and fast friend residing on the spot, who spoke the language well, and was not unacquainted with the venality of the government, nor with the persons of several of the magistrates, the French consequently could not be at a loss, for means of traversing the assistance desired by the commodore. However, the French were finally unsuccessful; and, on the 6th of January, the vice-roy sent his warrant for the refitment of the *Centurion*, and for supplying her people with all they wanted: though perhaps the force of such a ship was no small incitement for obtaining the warrant; for the Mandarines, sent on board the *Centurion*, surveyed each part of the ship with extraordinary attention;

attention; appearing greatly astonished at the largeness of the lower-deck guns, and at the weight and size of the shot; and were, at the same time, told, by the commodore, of the facility with which he could right himself, if justice were denied him, by the force of the Centurion; who, alone, was capable of destroying the whole navigation of the port of Canton, or of any other port in China, without running the least danger from all the force the Chinese could collect.

HAVING now the necessary licences, a number of Chinese smiths and carpenters went on board, the next day, to treat about the work for repairing the ship; who refusing to work by the day, it was at last agreed, that the carpenters should have to the amount of about 600*l.* for their work, in repairing the ship, the boats, and the masts; and that the smiths should be paid, for their iron work, by weight, allowing them about 3*l.* a hundred for the small work, and 2*l.* 6*s.* for the large. This being regulated, the commodore exerted himself in forwarding the heaving down of the Centurion, and examining the state of her bottom; which was immediately begun, and near a hundred Chinese caulkers set to work on the decks and sides of the ship: while, by clearing the ship, the carpenters were enabled to come at the leak, which they took care to secure effectually during the time the other preparations were going forward; the commodore giving them the greatest encouragement, for expediting the repairs; as he, instead of being discouraged by his former disasters, was now resolved again to risque the casualties of the pacific ocean, for intercepting the Minida galleon: and the greatest mortifica-

PART tion which he received, from his delays, was

III. his apprehension, least he might be thereby so long retarded, as to let so valuable a treasure

1742. escape him. While the Centurion was thus refitting, Capt. Saunders, who had commanded the Tryal, took his passage to England, on board a Swedish ship, charged with some dispatches from the commodore; as also, soon after, did Capt. Mitchel, and Colonel Cracherode, accompanied with the Reverend Mr Richard Walter, chaplain of the Centurion, who, being a gentleman of very ingenious and eminent abilities, has since obliged the world with a curious and elegant account of this remarkable voyage, compiled from the original papers and materials belonging to the commodore; which has principally furnished this history with such an authentic account of the most important transactions, in so distinguished an expedition.





CHAPTER IV.

A representation of the state and utility of GEORGIA: the SPANISH invasion of that colony, and their shameful repulse by GENERAL OGLETHORPE: with an account of other transactions in AMERICA; and a computation of the profit and loss of the war.

GENERAL OGLETHORPE, by attacking the Spaniards, the preceeding year, though he was prevented from accomplishing his design on Augustine, through the dilatory proceedings of the government of South Carolina, had yet, for that year, very prudently averted the storm that seemed to threaten the destruction of the infant colony of Georgia, from the Spaniards in Florida.

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WHILE this country lay open, the Spaniards had an opportunity of making continual depredations on the southern parts of Carolina: therefore, the charter, that established this colony, was granted, with the principal views, of providing a subsistence for poor and indigent families at home, and making a barrier for South Carolina,

PART Carolina, which had suffered by, and lay still
 III. exposed to, the incursions of both Spaniards and
 Indians, by the smallness of the number of
 1742. English inhabitants, resident in that province.

To make Georgia a barrier of greater security, the trustees were of opinion, that the most eligible method for effecting it, was, by stocking the country with white inhabitants; who, by their property, could only add a strength to the colony; since the introduction of Negroes would undoubtedly promote indolence, debility, and effeminacy, among the inhabitants: and, for the more effectual establishing so beneficial a government, his majesty, by the charter, restrained the trustees from granting more than 500 acres of land, either entirely, or in parcels, to, or for the use of, or in trust for, any one person.

GENERAL OGLETHORPE was appointed one of the trustees; this was a great happiness to the first settlers, and principally promoted the success of the colony: for this gentleman, considered the difficulties inseparable from the first settlement of a new country, uncultivated, and consequently requiring industry and time before it could afford the necessaries of life; he was thoroughly sensible that this difficulty would be augmented, by beginning the settlement, with low and necessitous people, whom it is hard to form into society, and reduce to a proper obedience of salutary laws; he knew that such indigent people, would always repine at the transferment of any of their own body, to be magistrates over them, and that they would think every restriction a grievance, though done with the greatest lenity, and evidently for their welfare: he therefore determined to undertake so laborious

ous a voyage, purposely to conduct the regulation of the colony, by providing the first inhabitants with all useful accommodations, and establishing them in a conformity of manners that would be found the most conducive to society, and the prosperity of the inhabitants: and happy was it for the colony, to be conducted, established, and governed, beneath the care, prudence, and protection of a governor, endowed with such conspicuous proofs of humanity, justice, wisdom, and bravery.

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To each of the poor families, who were first conducted into the colony under the care of General Oglethorpe, every thing was at first provided, at the expence of the trust, which was necessary for their subsistence, till they were capable of procuring a maintenance, by the improvement of the land, which was distributed in lots of fifty acres to every family; and this quantity, if well cultivated, would, in so fertile a country, yield not only a comfortable, but handsome, subsistence, to the possessors, though it would not be sufficient to enable them to maintain a number of Negroes. In the infancy of the settlement, many regulations and restrictions were thought necessary, to prevent the poor inhabitants from disposing of their lots; which promoted the defence and better improvement of the colony, by preserving a proper equality among them: and, to discourage idleness, and make the people industrious in their improvements, there was a condition in the grants, that if any of the lands should not be planted, cleared, or fenced, within a limited time, every part thereof, that was thus neglected, should revert to the trust. But these restrictions were afterwards released as the country improved;

PART improved; and the colony, under the direction
III. of so able a governor, soon smiled with a cheerful aspect, and promised a grateful recompence
 1742. for all the toil of her European inhabitants.

While the neighbouring Indians, consisting of three potent nations, soon contracted an amicable correspondence with the general, who treated them with all the candour and gentleness imaginable, and won them freely to consent to the establishment of the settlement: they were made sensible, that the English had no intentions to distress or disturb, but would be ready to assist and protect them; upon all occasions; and they were assured of redress for any injuries offered them, upon their making complaints to the magistrates: upon which, they engaged never to take any revenge themselves, which might occasion the least misunderstanding: and, as they afterwards found that justice had been always readily done them upon any complaint, they were punctual in their engagements.

THE climate was soon perceived to be no way pernicious to an English constitution, though twenty degrees nearer the sun than Great Britain; and though thirteen degrees in a warmer latitude than Old Spain, yet the hot weather there, is frequently more intense than Georgia; where, in summer, the refreshing breezes are constantly blowing from the sea from eight in the morning till twelve, and from three or four till sun setting; besides, the summer nights are free from those faint and gloomy heats, which are so troublesome in the warm climates of America: but what greatly contributes to the salubrity of the place, is, the great quantity of fine running water; for, besides the large rivers of Savamah and Alatomaha, there are many rivulets,

islets, and numberless springs, whose waters are sweet, clear, and cool : these give a chearful refreshment to the labourer, who, by these blessings of nature, can cultivate the soil without shunning the warmth of the sun, except in the meridian of its effulgence.

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GEORGIA has long furnished matter of contention between the crowns of Spain and England : and, as the English right to the colony is very evident, it may not be improper to shew the situation, state, and utility of this country to the British government ; that, if it should be unfortunately relinquished to the Spaniards, every Englishman may perceive what advantages the crown of Spain would collect, from the long and laborious services of General Oglethorpe ; who, for many years, confined his attention to the cultivation and improvement of the colony.

THE land is divided into high and lower grounds ; the soil is different, but is generally distinguished, by the names of, Pinebarren, Oak and Hickary, Savannah, and Swamps. Pinebarren is so called, from the pines growing on it with scarce any other sorts of timber ; the soil, being dry and sandy, is incapable of producing grain like the other lands ; however, there is a grass upon it which feeds abundance of cattle : and this, being high ground, and a healthy situation, the houses are generally built upon it. Oak and Hickary, or mixed land, is so called from the great number of those trees growing on it ; not but there is a variety of others among them : it has a clay bottom, which, in hot countries, is esteemed the best, as it keeps the roots of trees and vegetables cooler than any other soil ; it is covered with a fine mold, is light, works easy, answers very well, even in the first

PART year of planting ; and produces, when cultivated,
III. Indian corn, potatoes, pease, wheat, barley, and
 1742. rye, with great increase ; asparagus, colliflowers,

cabbages, carrots, and all sorts of garden stuff, in abundance : likewise vines, black and white mulberries in prodigious quantities, apples, and peaches in great plenty, together with almost all the fruits and vegetables of England ; besides many other very useful ones, as oranges, olives, pomegranates, water-melons, and figs, that never make their appearance in the colder climates. Savannah land, runs generally upon a level, and sometimes into large parcels of 500 acres and upwards ; is free from wood, and is always supplied with springs of the purest water : this land is extremely proper for husbandry ; a strong grass grows naturally upon it, which, by frequent burning, becomes finer, and makes very good hay for foddering the cattle in winter. Swamps are of two sorts, the cypress and cane : the first so called from that sort of tree growing in them ; this is excellent land when cleared ; but, being the lowest, is difficult to drain and cultivate ; and must be a work of time and labour : the cane, when cleared and cultivated, has a land which is extremely rich, having a black and greasy mold, where rice thrives particularly well, and many things grow on it beyond imagination. The whole land is generally fruitful, and productive of almost every thing requisite for subsistence ; and the experience made, by the industrious part of the colony, is the most convincing proof, how well the inhabitants may subsist by their labour.

BESIDES what the land yields for the support of life, and the tame cattle, which multiply in an extraordinary manner, there are, in the province,

vince, abundance of deer, hares, squirrels, and buffaloes; the woods are full of bees, affording large quantities of excellent honey; the rivers have great variety of delicate fish, particularly surgeon, and are covered with geese, ducks, teal, garnets, and curlews; and wild turkies, partridges, and doves, are numerous all over the country.

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AFTER the arrival of the first part of the colony, every thing appeared with so good an aspect, that it soon gave invitation to others, both natives of England, and foreigners, to go over to them: a considerable number of families from the Highlands of Scotland, and of Saltzburghers from Germany, were transported thither by the trustees; and the whole number, first and last, that have been sent by them into the colony, amounted to upwards of 1500 men, women, and children.

THE colony was separated in two divisions, the northward and the southward: in the northern division are, the towns of Savannah, Ebenezer, and Augusta; and the villages of Old Ebenezer, Hampstead, Highgate, Abercorn, and Skiudwe. In the southern division, are, the towns of Frederica, and New Inverness; and the village of Barikmacke. There are also three considerable forts in the province, called Fort Argyle, near the district of Darien; Fort St Andrew, and Fort William on Cumberland island; and Fort Augustine, at Frederica: besides another fort on St Simon's, and other less places of strength. The principal rivers in the colony, are the Savannah, which forms the boundary, to the N. E. on the frontiers of Carolina; and the Alatomaha, which separates it from Spanish Florida. These rivers, both, take their rise, from

different sources, in the Apalachian mountains, and fall into the Atlantic ocean, at the distance of a degree and half upon the Globe, but it is computed to be near 200 miles by water: they are both large and navigable; particularly the Savannah, which is capable of carrying canoes 600 miles, and boats 300 miles, up the country, where it commands the greatest part of the Indian trade; and the bar at Tybee, where the Savannah falls into the sea, is a very safe entrance for ships of 400 ton burthen, who may run directly from the sea over the bar, and enter a fine harbour, of good anchorage, and deep water, where a whole fleet of ships may securely lie at anchor. About ten miles up the river Savannah, is the town of the same name, situated upon a bluff of land about forty feet perpendicular from the water, on a sandy soil, healthy and fit for habitations: the town is regularly built, containing upwards of 130 houses, besides warehouses and huts, which are all erected at some distance from each other, to prevent the spreading of any fire, and to keep them more airy, the whole forming several wide streets and spacious squares; the town is extremely well situated for trade, being hardly a tide from the sea; and the navigation of the river is so commodious, that ships of 300 ton may lie in fresh water, close to the wharf, and free from the worm. About six miles distance from Savannah, up the river, are several considerable plantations; and at fifteen miles is the village of Abercorn. Ten miles above Abercorn, on the Carolina side of the river, is the town of Purrysburgh; which is a settlement of Swiss, formed by the Sieur Purry, in the same year the colony was established. Fifteen miles from Purrysburgh, on the Georgia side, is Eben-

r, where the Saltzburghers are situated, be-
about 150 in number; whose houses are
t and regularly set out in streets. At some
ance from hence, is a place called Old Eben-
r, where the Saltzburghers were first settled;
l there are now some plantations of German
ilies. Beyond Ebenezer, are several settle-
nts of Uſcheſee Indians on both ſides the river,
o have raiſed a great quantity of corn. At a
ſiderable diſtance from hence, is the town of
guſta, being 226 miles, by water, from the
rn of Savannah; from whence large boats are
igated to Auguſta: this town was laid out in
beginning of the year 1736, and ſoon be-
ae conſiderable on account of its convenient
aſion for making the chief place of trade with
Indians; where is a fort, and a little garri-
, which gives great ſecurity to the traders, and
he principal inducement of their reſorting to
guſta. Beſides the ſettlements upon the river
annah, there are ſeveral plantations to the
thward of Auguſta, as well as the villages of
ghgate and Hampſtead, which lie about four
es diſtant from it: ſome of the ſettlements
end as far as the narrow paſſages near Ogee-
e; which is an inland river. At the narrow
ages is Fort Argyle, in a ſituation that com-
nds all the province: this was built in the
r 1733, and is a large ſtrong palifade, eleven
t high, with flankers and loopholes for ſmall
mon at the angles. Beyond this, in the ſouth-
part of the province, is the town of New
verneſs, in the diſtrict of Darien; where the
ghlanders are ſettled, and have a fort below
town. About twenty miles from hence is
ſiderica, on the iſland of St Simon's; which
nd is thirteen miles long, three or four broad,
about

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PART about twenty leagues N. of St Augustine, and lies
III. near the sea, upon a branch of the Alatomaha
 river: Frederica is the principal town in the pro-
 vince, containing several good buildings, and
 well inhabited: at some distance from the town
 was the camp, for General Oglethorpe's regi-
 ment; and St Simon's fort lies within seven miles
 of it. Beyond St Simon's is Jekyl island, where
 Major Horton, an officer of the regiment,
 made great improvements. Southward of Jekyl
 lies the island of Cumberland, upon which are
 the forts of St Andrew and Fort William; where
 two companies of the regiment were stationed,
 and made no inconsiderable improvements. Be-
 yond Cumberland island, to the south, is the
 island of Amelia, where the orange-trees grow
 wild in the woods: upon this island are stationed
 the trust highland servants, with their scout
 boats; where was a little fort, and a serjeant's
 guard. Beyond Amelia is St George's; which
 was quitted, in the year 1736, by agreement
 with the Spaniards: at a little distance from this
 is St John's, where the Spaniards had the forts
 of St Francis and Pickalata, which General Ogle-
 thorpe took in the year 1740. So that the co-
 lony extends, within the country, from the gar-
 rison of the Okfuskees, in the upper Cr  ek na-
 tion, which is 400 miles from the sea, down to
 the gulph of Mexico, by the Appalachian moun-
 tains, and from thence to Amelia.

THE Indian nations, adjacent to Georgia, soon
 after the settlement, retained the highest veneration
 and esteem for General Oglethorpe, at all
 times shewing their affection to the English; and
 they soon established a trade, and supplied the co-
 lony annually with one hundred thousand weight
 of deer-skins, beaver, and other furs, which were
 chiefly

chiefly paid for in woollen goods and iron, being CHAP.
the produce and manufacture of England; so IV.
that this was no inconsiderable branch of com-
merce, from so young a colony; who, gave the 1742.
strongest indications of amply rewarding her
other country, for all the trouble and expence
she had sustained, by cherishing the province in
minority. Nor was this the only material pro-
duce of the country; for the great quantity of
mulberry-trees, seemed to invite the public at-
tention to promote a manufacture of silk: this
was begun; an Italian family was sent, to the
colony, to introduce the method of preserving
the worms, and managing the silk; and Georgia
promised to prove a rival to Piedmont, in a ma-
nufacture so advantageous to Great Britain;
besides this, wine, cochineal, indigo, olives, oil,
and cotton, might be brought, in Georgia, to no
small perfection. Another material point, in
which Georgia is to be considered, is, with re-
gard to the goodness and conveniency of the
harbours; and, in this light, it will prove of
the highest importance to Great Britain: for the
whole coast being secure for navigation, by
its situation in the gulph of Florida, and by a
proper use of its commodious ports, this colony
might command the return of the whole Spanish
treasure; and is of infinite consequence, to pre-
vent the conjunction of the French upon the
Mississippi, and their sugar islands.

SOUTH CAROLINA, immediately found the
advantages of this necessary barrier; for the more
southward parts, before the establishment of
Georgia, were so unsafe, that people were afraid
to make any settlement on them: but, soon after,
many thousand acres of rich land, near Port
Royal, were run out; the land was raised to four
times

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times the former value ; and the exportation of rice, from that province, was vastly increased : by this settlement, Carolina has likewise been free from the ravages, or attacks, of the Indians ; and, in this view, therefore of a barrier, abstracting the hopes of any improvement in trade, Georgia has evidently been a national benefit. Beneath the care of General Oglethorpe, who has been ever industriously attentive to the prosperity of the colony, the country has been proved to be abundantly productive, not only of the necessaries, but even of the blessings and endearments of life ; and, while under the direction of so prudent a governor, it might have eventually turned out, one of the most valuable acquisitions of the British government in America.

No sooner was the colony, thus lifting her head from obscurity, and evinced that nature had endowed her with many bountiful blessings, than the Spaniards began to perceive the importance of so valuable a country, and were industrious, in their projects, to defeat the English settlement ; sometimes, by undervaluing it, they imagined to make it contemptible to the British government ; conceiving, this would make the administration negligent of its security : and, at other times, by their threatening demands, expecting to frighten them into a compliance, of yielding it up, on the requisition of the court of Madrid : but this was all ineffectual. However, as the Spaniards looked upon Georgia as a Gibraltar in America ; and their ambassador, at the court of London, declaring, that his master would as soon part with Madrid as with his claim to the colony ; they determined to dispossess the English settlement by force ; and had actually prepared a considerable armament, at the Ha-

vanna, so early as the year 1737, ready to sail on such an expedition : this was still continued there, at the commencement of the war ; though the invasion of Georgia was then prudently prevented, by the conduct of General Oglethorpe ; and, by the disposition of the fleet, commanded by Admiral Vernon, they were detained, in the year 1741, in the Havanna : but, on the departure of the greatest part of his fleet for England, the Spanish admiral De Torres found himself equal, if not superior, in force, to the remainder of the British fleet, and therefore resolved to send out the long intended armament against Georgia, under a strong convoy of his squadron, from the Havanna.

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ACCORDINGLY, in May, the remainder of the dismounted regiment of dragoons, that had made their arrival at Cuba after their colonel and part of his men were taken by a British man of war, being 260 ; a regiment of the Havanna militia, being 1,000 men ; a battalion of regular troops, draughted at Cuba, of 500 men ; 500 Negroes, and 500 Mulattoes, all commanded by Don Antonio de Redondo, were conveyed to Augustine, in a great number of transports, under a proper convoy : but, in their passage, were discovered by the Flamborough man of war, commanded by Capt. Haymer, who fell in with part of the fleet on the coast of Florida, drove some of the vessels on shore, and instantly sent intelligence of their arrival to General Oglethorpe ; who, immediately took the best measures he could for a vigorous defence, laid an embargo on the shipping in Georgia, and sent dispatches to Charles-Town, in South-Carolina, to desire the assistance of the men of war on that station.

ON the arrival of the Spanish forces at Augustine, Don Manuel de Monteano, the governor of that fortress, assumed the command of the intended expedition to Georgia; and, having augmented the forces from Cuba with 300 soldiers, ninety Indians, and a company of artillery of 150 men, the whole army consisted of 3,300 men, besides a great number of seamen on board the fleet. With this army, the governor of Augustine, set sail from that port; and, on the 21st of June, the Spanish fleet appeared on the coast of Georgia, being thirty-two sail, consisting of three ships of twenty guns, two large snows, three schooners, four sloops, and the rest half galleys: they immediately attempted, with nine sail, the entrance into Amelia sound; but were so warmly received, by the cannon of the fort, and the guard schooner under Capt. Dunbar, that they readily sheered off.

GENERAL OGLETHORPE, on this advice, resolving to support the forts on Cumberland island, went from St Simon's, with a large detachment in boats, and resolutely fought his way through fourteen sail of Spanish vessels, who, were so roughly treated in this engagement, that they immediately put off to sea, and let the general proceed, without further interruption, to reinforce the garrison at Fort St Andrew. On the 22^d of June, the general returned to Frederica, and manned the Success Merchant-man, Capt. Thompson, of twenty guns, for the royal service; he also called in the Highland independent company, from Darien, two troops of Rangers, and a company of Boatmen; and, being joined by some of the Creek Indians under Toosanohowi, and other Indians, these, together with his regiment, composed a body of 800 men; all determined to sacrifice their lives, in the defence

fence of the colony, and in support of the honour of their commander. CHAP.
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THE whole body of the Spanish fleet being assembled, on the 28th of June, they came to anchor off St Simon's bar ; where they continued hovering about till the 5th of July, when with the tide of flood, the fleet came into Jekyl sound ; and, having stood the fire of 150 shot from the eighteen pounders at St Simon's fort, and from the ships and vessels that lay under that fort, they passed through the sound, without once attempting to burn any of the English vessels ; but, firing very smartly, proceeded up the river Alatomaha, out of the reach of the guns, where they landed their forces on the island, to the number of 3,000 men, and between twenty and thirty cannon of eighteen pounders ; at the same time hoisting a red flag at the mizen-top-mast-head of one of the largest ships : whereupon the Success and other vessels, made their escape to Carolina ; and General Oglethorpe, having done all that was possible to annoy the Spaniards as they landed, and having nailed up the guns, burst the bombs and co-horns, and destroyed the stores at fort St Simon's, he withdrew his troops for the defence of Frederica ; where he arrived, on the 6th, by day-break, without the loss of a man : he immediately gave orders for the defence of the town, supplied the broken and lost arms, and employed the requisite hands in perfecting the works of the fort. Scouts were sent out, on all sides, to discover the motions of the Spaniards ; and, in the afternoon of the same day, the Creek Indians brought in five Spanish prisoners, who informed General Oglethorpe, that the governor of Augustine commanded the Spanish forces ; and acquainted him of their number. On the 7th, the Ran-

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gers, who had been on the scout, came in, being pursued by the Spaniards, and gave an account, that they were within a mile of Frederica, where they had killed one of the Rangers. The General thereupon leaped on the first horse ; and, he immediately marched the Highland company, who were then under arms, and ordered sixty from the guard to follow : he himself galloped with the Indians to the place, about a mile from the town, where he found 120 Spaniards, and forty-five Florida Indians, under Capt. Sebastian Santio, and Capt. Mageleeto. General Oglethorpe, with the Indians, and six Highlanders, who outran the rest, immediately attacked them ; and, after some resistance, the Spaniards were broke and entirely defeated. Capt. Sebastian Santio, and several of the men, were made prisoners, the General having taken two of them with his own hands : several of the Spaniards were killed, and, amongst them, Capt. Mageleeto ; who, having shot Tooanohowi in his right arm, the young Indian, with an unusual intrepidity, as the Spaniard was rushing upon him, drew his pistol with his left hand, and shot him through the head. General Oglethorpe pursued the Spaniards for near a mile, and halted, at an advantageous piece of ground, till the guard came up ; when, he posted the Highlanders, under Lieutenant Mackay, on the right ; and, the guard, under Lieutenant Sutherland, upon the left of the road, concealed in a wood, with a large savannah, or meadow, in their front, over which the Spaniards must pass to come to Frederica. After this disposition, the general returned to Frederica, and ordered the regiment, Rangers, and companies of Boatmen, to march : whilst they were preparing, they heard the firing of platoons ;

platoons: the general immediately mounted his horse; and, hastily riding that way, met three platoons on the left, coming back in great disorder: they gave him an account they had been broken by the Spaniards, who were extremely numerous; notwithstanding which, he rallied them, rode on, and, to his great satisfaction, found that Lieutenant Sutherland, and Lieutenant-Mackay, had entirely defeated the Spaniards, who consisted of 300 men, and fled before one half of their force; several of them being killed, and Don Antonio Barbara, who commanded them, was made prisoner, but mortally wounded; they also took several of the grenadiers, and the drum. The general then ordered all the troops to march from Frederica to him, and, as soon as they arrived, pursued the Spaniards upwards of four miles. In the two actions the Spaniards had 150 men killed, and 18 taken prisoners: the rest were dispersed in the woods, where great numbers of them were overtaken and scalped by the Indians; and the general halted, all night, at a pass through the marshes, over which the Spaniards must go in return to their camp, if they could not escape through the woods. Before day-break, on the 8th, the general advanced, with a party of Indians, to the Spanish camp at Fort St Simon's; and found them all retired into the ruins of the fort, under the cannon of their men of war: upon which he returned to Frederica. The 9th and 10th of July were spent in going on with the works about the town, and sending parties out against the Spaniards; the Indians bringing in one prisoner, and several scalps. On the 11th, the Spanish fleet came higher up the river; and one galley with 100 men on board, and two half gallies

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PRAT galleys rowed up with the tide of flood for the

III. town. General Oglethorpe immediately detached a party of Indians, to lie in ambuscade, in the woods, lest the Spaniards, at the same

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time, should attack by land, when they attacked by water; he also ordered all the boats to be manned, which were two scout boats, and two small boats: then lining the banks and the sides of the works round the town, which were unfinished, with men and small arms, the general went to the fort; he personally directed the guns and haubitzers to be pointed; which were fired so warmly upon the Spanish vessels, that they seemed disabled: upon which General Oglethorpe immediately went on board his cutter; and rowing towards the Spaniards with his boats, they turned and rowed with great precipitation to the fleet, which lay about six miles below the town: the general pursued them about three miles, and then returned, the same evening, with the tide of ebb; while the whole Spanish fleet fell down to the mouth of the sound, about twelve miles from, and out of sight of, Frederica. The same day a highlander, who had been missing ever since the latter engagement on the 7th, came in with a prisoner; the highlander having lost himself in the woods, in pursuing the Spaniards, of whom he killed five, made a sixth prisoner, and, with much difficulty found his way to the town. On the 12th of July, an English prisoner made his escape from the Spaniards, and gave the general intelligence; that, since the late action, wherein the Spaniards lost Don Antonio Barbara and so many of their grenadiers, they were under the greatest terror and dejection; finding, by their roll, 240 men, and 19 of their Indians missing; which

which had occasioned a division amongst their general officers; Don Antonio de Redondo, who commanded the forces from Cuba, encamping separate from the forces belonging to Augustine; and that the commodore had ordered all his seamen on board. On this advice, General Oglethorpe ordered 300 picked men of the regiment, the highland company, and the two troops of rangers, to be ready; and marched, at four in the evening, within two miles of the Spanish camp; where he halted, ordering a party to advance, and view the posture of the Spaniards, in order to attack them: when, unfortunately, a Frenchman who had come down, pretending himself a volunteer, with some of the parties, fired his piece and deserted to the Spaniards; upon which the general, finding his purpose discovered, ordered the drums to beat the grenadiers march, and returned to Frederica. The next day, General Oglethorpe sent out scouts, both by land and water, to see what they could discover; and, to defeat the informations of the French deserter, the general contrived a letter to be sent to him, with instructions how to behave, by a Spanish prisoner; who delivered the letter to the governor of Augustine, on which the Frenchman was treated as a double spy, his intelligence disregarded, and himself laid in irons.

On the 14th of July, the Spaniards burnt the barracks and officers houses at Fort St Simon's, and Major Horton's beautiful plantation on Jekyll island; after which they embarked so precipitately that they left a quantity of ammunition, provision, and some guns behind. On the 15th of July, all their large vessels, with the troops from the Havannah on board, sailed away

PART to the southward: and the governor of August

III. time, with his troops on board the gallies and smaller vessels, went within land, and encamped

1742, on Cumberland island; where they took fifty horses, with a design to carry them off: but General Oglethorpe, appearing with his boats, they shot the horses, and burnt the village of Barrimacke, and the fort of St Andrew. On the 16th, the general followed them closely with all his small craft, but was not strong enough to attack them; however, in the evening, he landed a man on Cumberland island, who passed the Spanish camp in the night, and got early to Fort William, to inform Ensign Stuart, who commanded there, that the Spaniards were repulsed at St Simon's, and that the general was advancing to his relief. On the 18th, twenty-eight sail of Spanish vessels, appeared off Fort William; fourteen of which came within land, attacked the place, and attempted to make a descent, but were beat off, by a body of rangers placed behind the sand-hills: so that, after an engagement of three hours, they were obliged to put to sea, with considerable loss. On the 20th, General Oglethorpe arrived at Fort William, and sent his boats and rangers as far as the river St Mathea; who, returned next day with advice, that the Spaniards were entirely gone.

THE Spaniards were in this manner ignominiously repulsed, by General Oglethorpe, with less than a third part of their force, and with an inconsiderable loss to the colony; but the Spanish forces from Cuba lost above 900 men, before their arrival at the Havanna; where the chief officer, on his return, was imprisoned in the Morro castle, and the common soldiers were hooted at in the streets, for their shameful and dastardly

daftardly behaviour: the forces from Augustine, CHAP. IV.
were also greatly diminished: and, though the Spaniards haughtily vaunted they would renew their invasion, they were too much intimidated, 1742.
by this unsuccessful attempt, ever after to commence another expedition against the colony of Georgia, during the remainder of the war.

FROM the first appearance of the Spanish armament on the coast of Florida, the whole province of South Carolina was in the utmost consternation; as they entertained but little hopes, that General Oglethorpe, with so inferior a force, would be able to defend the colony of Georgia, whose reduction would have given the Spaniards an uninterrupted admission into the bowels of Carolina. Many of the inhabitants of this province quitted their plantations, and repaired to Charles Town, under the most terrible apprehensions of being exposed to the ravages of an invading enemy: the whole militia of the province was assembled, the fortifications of Charles Town were augmented, and nothing omitted for the security of their own province: while the sister colony was bravely struggling for liberty, Carolina was too dilatory to appear in her defence; though the governor and assembly had ordered several vessels, manned with 670 seamen, and several volunteers, to proceed with the men of war for the succour of Georgia; but, before their arrival, General Oglethorpe had obliged the Spaniards to abandon their enterprise.

THE whole province of Carolina was as much protected, by this defeat, as the colony of Georgia; but more immediately the island of Port Royal, and places adjacent, in the southern part of Carolina; who are situated at 100 miles

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PART miles distance from Charles Town, and could
III. have made no manner of resistance, if they had

been invaded, which would have been a considerable loss, not only to the province, but also to the British navigation: because the island of Port Royal, which is about fifteen miles in length, forms, with the neighbouring continent, one of the most secure and commodious harbours in the British plantations; and would be highly valuable to the Spaniards, who have not one convenient port on the coast of Florida; for the harbour of Augustine is, in a manner, choaked up, and incapable of receiving any vessels of above 100 ton burthen.

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THE inhabitants of Port Royal, and the southern districts of Carolina, were animated with the greatest joy on the success of General Oglethorpe; whom they gratefully acknowledged as their protector from rapine, murder, and destruction; the preserver of their liberties; and the guardian of their lives and fortunes. Full with gratitude, for so signal a service, the principal freeholders and inhabitants, of this part of the country, assembled at the town of Beaufort in Port Royal, and signed an address, which was immediately presented, to General Oglethorpe; representing, "THAT they, for
 " themselves and other settlers, of the southern
 " frontier of the province of Carolina, congratulate his excellency, on his late wonderful
 " success, over his and their inveterate enemy
 " the Spaniards; who had so lately invaded his
 " excellency, in such a numerous manner, to
 " the great amazement and terror of all the
 " British subjects dwelling in those open and defenceless parts. THAT it was very certain, had
 " the Spaniards succeeded in their attempts
 " against

“against his excellency, they would have entirely destroyed them, and laid their lands waste and desolate; have filled their habitations with blood and slaughter; and his majesty would, in all probability, have lost the fine and spacious port of Port Royal, where some of the best and largest ships of the British nation might harbour in security on any occasion. THEY were very sensible of the great protection and safety they had a long time enjoyed, by his excellency being to the southward of them, and his keeping his sloop of war on the cruize, which had secured their trade and fortunes, in safety, more than all the ships of war that were ever stationed at Charles Town: but more especially by his late resolution, in frustrating the attempts of the Spaniards, when nothing could have saved them from utter ruin, next to the providence of almighty God, but his excellency’s singular conduct, and the bravery of the troops under his command; whom they thought it their duty, to pray God to protect and send him success in all his undertakings, for his majesty’s service. ASSURING his excellency, not a man of them but would willingly have ventured their all, in support of his excellency and his gallant troops, were they assisted and put in a condition to have been of service to him: and, that they always looked on their interest, so united to the colony of Georgia, that had his excellency been cut off, they must have fell in course.”

THE island of Providence, being situate on the east-side of the gulph of Florida, sixty-six leagues distant from the continent, and being a convenient station for the British cruizers, Governor Tinker, informed Admiral Vernon, who was

PART then at Jamaica, that he was apprehensive the

III. Spaniards might make him a visit in their return from Georgia to Cuba : but the admiral was of another opinion ; and, as he did not think it worth their while to attack Providence, he gave himself no trouble in securing it ; which would have been only unnecessary, for the Spaniards, as the admiral knew they would, immediately returned to the Havanna, without concerning themselves about Providence.

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AFTER the departure of Admiral Vernon from Jamaica, Sir Chaloner Ogle took all possible care, for the security of the islands, and protection of the trade ; but was incapable of promoting any enterprize, because the Spanish squadron lay still at the Havanna, and was superior to that left under his command. Nor did the Spaniards attempt any thing after the descent on Georgia : De Torres continuing at the Havanna, where he could protect La Vera Cruz ; and Sir Chaloner Ogle, by his station at Jamaica, was ready to prevent any surprize on Rattan. However, the Spaniards were greatly incommoded in the American seas by the British cruizers and privateers. No other material enterprizes were transacted this year in America ; except an ineffectual attempt to discover a passage into the South Sea, by the northwest part of America : and nothing else was remarkable, but the following occurrences.

ON the 1st of March, the Sheerne's man of war, of twenty guns, commanded by Captain Ward, on a cruize, off crooked island, took a Spanish fettee, with forty men, bound from Cadiz for La Vera Cruz, laden with twenty ton of quicksilver, and other valuable goods, to the amount of 50,000 l.

ON

On the 4th of June, Capt. Frankland, commander of the *Rose* man of war, being on a cruize amongst the Bahama islands, fell in with a Spanish guard de costa, of ten carriage and ten swivel guns, and eighty men, in company of three prizes which she had taken. The guard de costa, and two of the prizes, engaged the *Rose* for three hours, when the two prizes stood away, one to windward, the other before the wind : the guard de costa continued the engagement for an hour longer ; when her crew, in opposition to the captain, hauled down their colours, and cried for quarters. Capt. Frankland took out her men, put some of his own people on board her, and sent her after the prize that stood to windward, which she retook ; while the *Rose* followed the other two prizes ; and, retaking them both, carried them all three, together with the Spanish ship, into Carolina.

THE court of Madrid having ordered the regiment of dragoons of Almanza, commanded by Don Alonzo de Arcos y Morena, of 520 men ; and the like number of infantry, of the regiment of Portugal, commanded by Don Francisco Villavicencio, to reinforce the garrison of Carthagená, where they apprehended the British forces would make another attack : these two regiments, on the 6th of February, embarked on board of five ships, belonging to the Caracca company, which were, the *El Coro* of sixty guns, but mounting only forty ; the *St Ignatio* of sixty guns, but mounting only forty ; the *St Sebastian* of thirty guns, the *St Joachim* of thirty guns, and the *St Antonio* of twelve guns ; who carried Don Joachim de Miranda, the new governor of Carthagená, having a vast quantity of bale goods on board, and a great sum of money to pay the soldiers

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PART soldiers in America, being esteemed the richest

III. ships that sailed this year from Spain. They left
 Port Passage on the 12th of February; and be-
 1742. ing separated on their voyage, the St Ignatio, on

the 30th of March, was lost on the shoals of Anegada, one of the Caribbee islands, where the colonel of the regiment of Portugal, with two captains, three lieutenants, and 150 soldiers were drowned; and the St Antonio was no more heard of. The other three ships kept company, and took a British vessel, bound from Boston to Barbadoes, which they sent into Porto Rico; and, on the 12th of April, off the Virgin Gordos, they fell in with the Antigua station ships, being the Eltham and Lively, the one of forty, and the other of twenty guns, under the command of Capt. Smith; who came up to the Spaniards, and fought them very bravely, notwithstanding the superiority of the Spanish force: the English fired so briskly, that the Spanish commodore would have struck several times, but was prevented by an Irish land officer on board: the engagement continued a considerable time, in which the new governor of Carthagena was killed, together with between 6 and 700 men: the Spaniards had their rigging much shattered, their ships were almost tore to pieces, so that it was with great trouble they were kept up; and, had day-light continued but one hour longer, or could the English have come up in the morning, they must have taken all the three ships, who, with the utmost difficulty, got into Porto Rico on the 15th of April. The Spaniards, on their arrival at Porto Rico, having advice that Carthagena was sufficiently supplied with troops; and that, by means of French and Dutch vessels, they had been supplied with ammunition of all kinds, that they wanted;

nted ; it was determined for their going to CHAP.
iba, to be at hand there, to be sent wherever IV.
might be found necessary for the public ser-
e ; and to embark in small vessels at Porto
co, to land them at Baraco, where the colonel
dragoons expected to find horses provided
mounting his regiment, for which he car-
d their saddles, and all accoutrements, with
n. The troops were accordingly shipped on
ard eight schooners and sloops, and sailed from
rto Rico, on the 10th of July, under the con-
y of the El Coro, that had on board 300
lors, and as many soldiers ; and the St Joa-
im, who carried 150 sailors, and as many sol-
ers ; the St Sebastian being left behind, with-
t any troops on board, having only her own
mplement of seamen, with which she was
und to the Caraccas : they all got their passage
Cuba, except one of the schooners, which had
board the colonel of dragoons, his major,
ne officers, and eighty men, besides sailors,
ing in all ninety-seven persons ; who were dis-
vered off the island of Tortuga, on the 14th
July, by the Seahorse man of war, command-
by Capt. Durell ; on which the major, a cap-
in, a cornet, and about thirty more, contrived
drown themselves, in attempting to get ashore
ith the boat, when they were within gun-shot
the Seahorse : for, on her firing a shot that
nt over them, they all, running on one side,
erfer the boat ; but ten of them were taken
by the Seahorse, and some Mulatto seamen
aped on shore ; the major, officers, and the
st of the soldiers being drowned ; and the
hooker, with the colonel, his son who was a
net, and the remainder of the men, being
ried into Port Royal in Jamaica.

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THE Tilbury man of war, of sixty guns, commanded by Capt. Lawrence, together with the island sloop belonging to Jamaica, were ordered, on the 7th of September, on a cruize to the leeward of Navassa, for intercepting any ships or vessels going from St Jago for Carthagena; where they arrived: and, soon after, the Tilbury met with a melancholy incident, on the 22d, occasioned by a marine snatching a bottle of rum, the purser's boy had in his hand in the cockpit, together with a candle, saying, he would have a dram out of it; which the other refusing, and the marine struggling to force it from him, the bottle fell down and broke: the candle, falling into the rum, set fire to it, which, communicating to other rum in the purser's cabin, began so terrible a fire, that all the diligence of the crew could not extinguish; though they threw over all the gunpowder for preventing her blowing up, and continued their endeavours till the ship was sinking: the captain, and the greatest part of the officers and men were taken up, by the island sloop, and another man of war on the same station; but the master, boatswain, gunner, a marine officer, and above 100 men, sunk with the ship.

THE George, and Joseph and Mary privateers, belonging to Philadelphia, commanded by Capt. Sibbalds, and Capt. Dowel; being on a cruize, on the 18th of November, twenty-five leagues to leeward of Baraco, fell in with a Spanish register ship, and a settee, which they had the good fortune to take without the loss of a man, and only two slightly wounded, though the engagement continued from eight in the morning, till half an hour after ten; but the Spaniards had sixteen killed, among which was the

the captain of the ship, who fell the first broad-CHAP.
side that was gave them, and a lieutenant-colonel IV.
belonging to the Havanna, who was nephew to the governor of Cuba; and they had 1742.
also twenty-one wounded. The ship was laden with bale goods, mounted 14 carriage and 20 swivel guns, and had 62 men: she belonged to the royal company of Cadiz, was bound to the Havanna, and her cargo was valued, in Spain, at 33,000 *l.* besides the private trade. The settee was an advice boat from Cadiz, bound to the Havanna and La Vera Cruz, carrying two six pounders, forty-four men, and small arms answerable; with a cargo of 200 ton of quicksilver, 200 hogheads of wine, a quantity of iron, and ten chests of small arms, valued at 12,000 *l.* There was another large ship in company with the register ship and settee, under French colours, who gave two broadsides to the George, and another to the Joseph and Mary, and then run away. The privateers carried their prizes into Providence, one of the Bahama islands, where a flag of truce was sent from the governor of Cuba in order to exchange prisoners, and to ransom his nephew, had he been living; on which all the Spanish prisoners were sent to the Havanna, and the English prisoners there, being 280, were sent to Providence.

THIS year, there were thirty sail of Spanish ships taken by the British men of war in America, computed to be worth 300,000 *l.* the prizes took by Commodore Anson, were valued at 94,000 *l.* the British men of war, and privateers, in Europe, made prizes of about ninety Spanish ships and vessels, valued at 270,000 *l.* so that the whole captures of this year, taken from the Spaniards, amounted to 664,000 *l.*

PART which, if added to 1,170,000 *l.* the value of
 III. the prizes taken before, the Spanish loss, in trade
 and shipping, amounts to 1,834,000 *l.* The

1742. British ships, taken this year by the Spaniards in
 Europe were 109, on the northern coast of
 America 8, and 13 in the West Indies, in all
 130, valued at 455,000 *l.* which, being added
 to 1,352,000 *l.* for the loss the English had sus-
 tained before, will make the value of the whole
 prizes and confiscations, taken and made by the
 Spaniards, since the commencement of the war,
 amount to 1,807,000 *l.* so that the ballance only
 on that account was 27,000 *l.* in favour of the
 English; but when this sum is added to the
 877,000 *l.* which is the computed loss the Spa-
 niards sustained at Porto Bello, Chagre, and
 Carthagena; and to the further sum of 160,000 *l.*
 which, according to their own estimation, was
 the loss they suffered by the destruction of Paia,
 it seems, that the Spaniards, had lost 1,964,000 *l.*
 more than the English, since the beginning of
 the war: exclusive of the damages done by
 General Oglethorpe in Florida, which cannot be
 punctually ascertained, but were much of an
 equivalence, with the damages committed by
 the Spaniards, in their invasion of Georgia.



THE
FOURTH PART,
IN TWO DIVISIONS.

FIRST DIVISION.

FROM THE
Meeting of the BRITISH Parliament,
on the 16th of November, 1742.

TO THE
End of the CAMPAIGN in MDCCXLIII.

SECOND DIVISION.

THE
Naval War in EUROPE, ASIA, and
AMERICA, in 1743.

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FIRST DIVISION.

CHAPTER I.

the proceedings in the second session of the BRITISH parliament, and other domestic occurrences. Transactions at the court of VIENNA; the conduct of the court of VERSAILLES; and the resolution of the STATES GENERAL, to assist the QUEEN of HUNGARY.



THE British government, at the CHAP. close of the year 1742, found, I. that their military conduct had put a very different aspect on the affairs of Europe, by suppressing the ^{1742.} imperial arrogance of France, and advancing the potency and reputation of the Queen of Hungary; and though the British nation had for three years engaged in a war with Spain, which must necessarily have greatly impoverished trade, yet the administration was no ways deterred from vigorously opposing the projects of

PART of France, nor in the least intimidated at the
IV. resentment of that crown. The British govern-

ment now exerted their naval force against the
1742. Spaniards; and, to act consistently with their
natural interest and antient honour, it was requi-
site also to renew their influence on the continent,
for the preservation of their allies, and the con-
tinuance of their own security; which would be
reduced to a very precarious situation, if France
should be ever quietly permitted to extend her
conquests; because it is not impossible, but the
French might arrive at so great an accession of
dominion, as to fear no contending powers on
the continent, which would give them an
opportunity to reduce half of their armies, and
employ half of their revenues, to increase
their fleets; with which, when sufficiently aug-
mented, they would not be long disregardful of
invading Britain: and, though formidable as
the British fleet actually is, such an enemy as
France, when disencumbered from other engage-
ments, may in the end prove destructive to so
noble a race of people, and so glorious a consti-
tution. Nor is this any chimerical idea, if it is con-
sidered, that when the Romans gained the uni-
versal empire on the continent, though much in
a lower condition than France has been for se-
veral years, the Carthaginians, the only state of
the world then potent in this respect, were finally
destroyed. But, if it is imagined, that, exclu-
sive of their naval force, the innate bravery, and
courage of the British inhabitants, are capable of
repelling any powerful invaders; might not the
prepossession of such opinions, prove as fallacious
to the present, as to the former, race of Britons?
The antient inhabitants of this island, were as
brave, war-like, and tenacious of liberty, as the
modern;

modern; they copiously shed their blood in defence of it, but were compelled to acknowledge a victor. The very government, monarchy, and constitution of the British nation, owe their origin to these invasions: the Romans, it is true, succeeded principally by land; but, in a later age, the Saxons conquered this island from the Britons by their fleets; the empire of the Saxons, who, in proportion to those times, had very considerable naval forces, was, for a while, entirely overthrown by the Danes; and scarce had the Saxons recovered their ground, but the Norman invasion completed all, and made an entire conquest of the nation. Britain has often suffered by the descents of France; the experience of all the British histories shews, that the utmost care of the most numerous squadrons, are insufficient to secure the island against being insulted, nay, even actually invaded; and that such invasions have never failed to put the nation to a great expence, have always given terrible alarms, and sometimes proved successful. If France had the spirit to invade Ireland, at the time of the revolution, when the British navy was very magnificent; how can the British nation, with any degree of security, confide solely in their naval force, when the rest of Europe shall be reduced to a provincial dependence upon a great empire, within three hours sail of some part of England, and within ten of the very capital?

THEFORE, from the consideration of every interest, adapted to the preservation of the British monarchy, the government was bound to the assistance of the Queen of Hungary, as well as by the strongest ties of treaty and public faith: nor was the prior engagement of a war with Spain,

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1742. Spain, sufficiently important to make them submit patiently to the provocations of France ; or forbear resenting their own private, and the public injuries, in a manner suitable to the antient dignity, and fiducial friendship, of the British crown ; so often, and so eminently signalized, in the support of its own honour, and the security of the liberty of Europe. A war with France was neither to be rashly undertaken, nor timidly neglected ; but it was evident, that the war with Spain, could never have been brought to a happy conclusion, without a rupture with France ; who, without entering avowedly into that war, supplied, encouraged, and fomented the differences between the British and Spanish crowns : besides, as the views of France and Spain coincided with each other, it was better for Great Britain to make the former an open enemy, than lie exposed to the danger of a perfidious friend. France would certainly have joined Spain, to accelerate the reduction of the British nation, with her whole, and an irresistible force, when she had completed her work in Germany ; and then, the British government would have been under the necessity of defending themselves, against the united arms of such potent confederates, without any one ally capable of stepping in to their preservation : but the British nation, by thus seasonably joining against France, were able to act in conjunction with some of the greatest powers in Europe ; and had a reasonable expectation of further assistance from other considerable allies. This was certainly a favourable conjuncture, for the British nation, severely to chastise both the vanity of France, and the presumption of Spain ; because, the rash attempts of the court of Madrid, partly to gratify the wild ambition of the Spanish

Spanish queen, and partly to assist in accomplishing the plan projected by the court of Versailles, afforded Great Britain the means, if she engaged against France, of ruining the armies of Spain in Italy, of confining her fleets from any possibility of prejudicing the British navigation; and, in fine, of disappointing her most favourite views, of exhausting her revenues, and of throwing her government into confusion in one campaign, more than by any other way of waging war with her to the extinction of time. So that, considering the situation of affairs by the total ruin of Lavarria, the immense losses and expences of France, the inability of Spain, the reconciliation of Prussia and Saxony, the security of the Turk, the humility of Sweden, the fidelity of Sardinia, the success of the Austrian arms, and the stake on which they contended, together with the manifested perfidy and detected views of France; the British nation had, at this time, a much fairer opportunity, if they properly availed themselves of it, to reduce France, than they had seen for a long period of years.

It was therefore with the highest satisfaction, that every lover of mankind, surveyed the alterations that had lately been produced in the state of Europe; and every Briton might well express a more immediate and particular pleasure, to observe his country rising again into its former dignity, to see his own nation shake off dependence, rousing from inactivity, covering the ocean with her fleets, and awing the continent with her armies; bidding once more defiance to the rapacious invaders of neighbouring kingdoms, and the daring projectors of universal dominion; once more exerting her influence in foreign courts; and summoning the monarchs of

PART the West, to another confederacy, against the
 IV. power of France, their universal enemy.

1742. THE Queen of Hungary, who was lately obliged to retire at the approach of her enemies, to leave her capital in danger of a siege, and seek shelter in the remotest corner of her dominions; who was lately so harrassed with invasions, and so incircled with dangers, that she could scarcely fly from one ravager, without the hazard of falling into the hands of another; was now able to prescribe laws to her persecutors: to return the violence which she had suffered; and, instead of imploring mercy from those who had no regard but to their own interest, and were determined to annihilate her family and divide her dominions, now sat in full security on her throne, directed the march of distant armies, and dictated the terms on which those who had entered her dominions, should be permitted to escape.

SUCH was the situation of Germany; thus was the house of Bourbon, on every side, diminished of its power, its alliance rejected, and its influence disregarded; when the British parliament assembled, on the 16th of November, 1742, and his majesty went to the house of peers, where he opened the second session, with a speech to both houses, importing,

“ THAT the present important conjuncture of affairs would, he was persuaded, be thought a sufficient reason for calling them thus early together.

“ THAT he had, in pursuance of the repeated advice of his parliament, taken such a part as appeared to him most conducive to the support of the house of Austria, and to the restoring and securing the ballance of power, by
 “ assembling

“ assembling the British, Hanoverian, and Hef-
“ sian troops in Flanders, in order to form such
“ a force, in conjunction with the Austrian troops,
“ as might be of service to the common Cause
“ in all events; and he doubted not, but he
“ should have the assistance of the parliament,
“ in the support of these necessary measures.

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“ THAT the magnanimity and firmness of
“ the Queen of Hungary, notwithstanding so
“ many numerous armies sent against her;
“ the resolute conduct of the King of Sar-
“ dinia, and his strict adherence to his engage-
“ ments, though attacked in his own domini-
“ ons; the stop which had been put to the am-
“ bitious designs of the court of Spain in Italy,
“ to which the operations of his fleet in the
“ Mediterranean had so visibly contributed; the
“ change of affairs in the North, which had ap-
“ peared by the public requisition made by Swe-
“ den, of his good offices, for procuring a peace
“ between Russia and that crown; and the de-
“ fensive alliances agreed upon, not only be-
“ tween him and the Czarina, but also, between
“ him and the King of Prussia, were events,
“ which could not have been expected, if Great
“ Britain had not shewn a seasonable spirit and
“ vigour, in the defence and assistance of its an-
“ cient allies; and in the maintenance of the li-
“ berties of Europe, as well as of its own true
“ and lasting interest.”

HIS majesty acquainted the house of com-
mons, “ That he had ordered the proper esti-
“ mates, for the service of the ensuing year, to
“ be prepared, and laid before them; and also
“ an account of the expence of those particular
“ services, which he had already mentiond, and
“ which they would find to have been concerted

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“ in as frugal a manner as the nature of them
 “ would admit. He was persuaded, that they
 “ would readily grant him such supplies as should
 “ be found necessary for the security and welfare
 “ of the nation, requisite for the support of the
 “ common cause, and adequate to the present
 “ emergency.

“ He represented, to the parliament, that
 “ the importance of their deliberations, at this
 “ time, was so evident, that he would say nothing
 “ to enforce it. That the honour and interest
 “ of his crown and kingdoms ; the success of
 “ the war with Spain, and the re-establishment
 “ of the balance and tranquility of Europe,
 “ would greatly depend on the prudence and
 “ vigour of their resolutions. Recommending
 “ it to their care, to avoid every thing, that
 “ might either delay or weaken them ; and to
 “ convince the world, that they were deter-
 “ mined to make a right use of the present op-
 “ portunity.”

THE next day, both houses of parliament pre-
 sented very dutiful and loyal addresses to his ma-
 jesty ; expressing their approbation of the mea-
 sures he had taken, for the support of the Queen
 of Hungary, and the restoration of the balance of
 power : the lords, particularly represented to his
 majesty, “ That the good effects, which the vi-
 “ gour exerted, under his authority and in-
 “ fluence, in assisting their antient allies, and
 “ maintaining the liberties of Europe, had al-
 “ ready had upon the affairs of the Queen of
 “ Hungary, upon the conduct of several pow-
 “ ers, and the state of Europe in general, were
 “ visible to all the world. That it was with the
 “ utmost satisfaction they observed them ; and
 “ relied on his majesty’s known care and atten-
 “ tion

"tion to the public welfare, to pursue and im- CHAP.
"prove them : and they could not but entertain I.
"well-grounded hopes, that so great an exam-
"ple, and a steady perseverance in the same 1742.
"measures, would inspire the like spirit and re-
"solution into other powers, equally engaged by
"treaties and common interest, to take the like
"part." The commons represented, "That, as
"they thought the support of the house of Austria,
"and securing the balance of power, were inse-
"parable from the true interest of the British
"monarchy ; they desired, in the strongest
"manner, to express their grateful sense of the
"early care taken by his majesty in forming such
"an army in the Low-Countries, as might be of
"service to those great and desirable ends : and
"as they were satisfied, that a force sufficient
"for that purpose, could not have been so rea-
"dily assembled, as by his majesty's sending a
"body of his own electoral troops, together
"with the Hessians, to join the British and Aus-
"trian forces in those parts ; they were deter-
"mined, chearfully and effectually, to support
"his majesty, in all such necessary measures :
"assuring his majesty, that they would, with the
"greatest alacrity and readiness, grant such sup-
"plies as should be found necessary for perfect-
"ing the great work, in which his majesty was
"engaged ; for prosecuting with vigour the just
"and necessary war with Spain ; and for main-
"taining the honour and security of his majesty
"and his kingdoms."

BUT when the motions were made for these
addresses, they met with a vigorous opposition,
before they passed in the affirmative. This was
occasioned by the influence of the disgusted
members, who had promoted another opposition

PART to the new ministry, of which notice has been
IV. already taken in the 365th page of the 1st Vol.

1742. A WORTHY set of men, had lately made themselves conspicuous, under the denomination of the independent electors of Westminster; and, in a particular manner, exerted themselves, to maintain the freedom of election; which had been, with unaccountable imprudence, invaded at their choice of members for the present parliament: for the community had, through their fondness for the glorious Admiral Vernon, nominated him and Charles Edwin, Esq; for their representatives; who, with very odious circumstances, were thrown out by the artifices of the ministry; and Lord Sundon and Sir Charles Wager returned in their stead. This the principal part of the electors were resolved to defeat; and the administration, still with greater rashness, were determined, if they could, to validate this irregular election; which so much offended all, as well violent as moderate men, that there arose a conjunction of all interests, and of all principles, which created an opposition so formidable, that it was not to be resisted; whose strength all the power of Sir Robert Walpole was not able to oppose. The justice of the cause, and the consequence of its issue to the people, made several of the inhabitants exert themselves with an uncommon spirit; causing them to appear in vast numbers, and in very frequent assemblies; by which men of all tempers became acquainted. The most warm and violent consorted together; who, when they had succeeded in their point, elated with the vanity of their own importance, they knew no longer how to confine themselves within their own proper sphere, and thought themselves equally qualified, and equally intitled,

to direct the nation, as to conduct their own election : while the more moderate and wise, contented with having done their duty, and carried the only point with which they were intitled to interfere, retired peaceably to reap the fruits of an event, productive of many other beneficial consequences to their country. The members of the new opposition, to make themselves the more formidable, frequented the assemblies of such part of the independent electors of Westminster, as were too conceitedly fond of their own abilities to lose the dignity of their title, and still gave out public advertisements addressed to the independent electors of Westminster, to assemble in commemoration of the noble struggle they maintained for their liberty and independence : though the principal men that composed these assemblies, would have been more properly employed in their respective vocations ; than thus for party-crazed solicitors, and politically stupid tradesmen, to quit their desks and counters, and, instead of employing themselves in their only suitable profession, to be led by the noses by men of superior capacities, only as inferior instruments, to promote their intrigues ; who, at the same time, privately diverted themselves with these blind politicians, and ignorantly zealous pretenders of national liberty. United by some of the principal leaders of the opposition against the new ministry, these trivial relics of the body of independent electors, immediately began to offer their assistance in regulating the nation, and prescribing rules to the government. The same spirit of opposition, had been promoted amongst some of the liverymen of the city of London ; and, during the late recess of parliament, they had an opportunity of exerting all their influence, and

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PART and employing all their their qualifications ; so

IV. that, just before the opening of the second session,
 the nation was alarmed by the publication of an
 address, intituled, The representation of the lord

1742. mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, to their representatives in parliament ; and also by another representation, in the name of the burgeses and inhabitants of the city and liberty of Westminster, to their representatives. These representations, after enumerating those advantages the nation seemed to expect, from the overthrow of the late ministry ; instructed their representatives, to postpone every other consideration, particularly the supplies for the current service of the year, till they had renewed the secret committee of inquiry against the Earl of Orford ; procured an effectual bill, to reduce and limit the number of placemen, in the house of commons ; restored the frequency of elections, and restrained the abuse of power in returning officers. Had a manifestation of such public spirit, been exerted free from, and uninfluenced by, other latent views than the real service and security of the government ; such asseverations of regard and affection for the national rights, and antient constitution of the kingdom, would have been worthy the man of integrity, and the lover of his country : but there was infinitely more of the spirit of faction, than of patriotism, in these instructions ; for though, on their publication, they were, with diligence and expedition, sent into the country, and distributed round every part of the kingdom, as the sense of the metropolis, to be thence taken for the voice of the whole people of England ; yet, in reality, there were not above 300, out of 6,000 liverymen in London ;

London ; nor above fourscore, out of 16,000 CHAP.
electors in Westminster, that sanctified these in- I.
structions with their approbation.

SEVERAL shires, cities, and boroughs, follow- 1742.
ed this example, of the metropolis, by present-
ing instructions of a similar tendency to their re-
presentatives ; and insisted, that it was the duty
of every member of parliament, to vote, in every
instance, as his constituents should direct him in
the house of commons : a thing highly absurd,
or the parliament has never allowed the right of
instructing to lie in the people, because it is the
constant and allowed principle of the British con-
stitution, that no man, after he is chosen, is to
consider himself as a member for any particular
place, but as a representative for the whole na-
tion ; without which, there could be neither
freedom of judgment, or speech ; without which,
all debate must be entirely unnecessary ; and
without which, the legislature would be torn
with faction, inconsistency, and contrariety of
interests, to a degree of confusion, that must be
destructive of the very intent of government.

By inculcating such popular points, and spread-
ing a certain general maxim, very fallaciously ap-
plied, that, " It was of no consequence, what be-
" came of the liberties of Europe, if they did
" not first secure their liberties at home ;" the
whole nation was in a ferment, and the people
blinded from a pursuit of their interest. Though
several corporations, particularly Bristol and Not-
tingham, addressed their members in direct op-
position to the instructions drawn up by the cities
of London and Westminster ; the city of Bristol,
recommending it, to their representatives,
" Chearfully to concur in granting early and ef-
" fectual supplies for the ensuing year ; for with-

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“out the necessary supplies Great Britain must
 “be wholly inactive, at a season when the ut-
 “most prudence, vigour, and resolution was ne-
 “cessary, to avert the dangers that threatened
 “her, and her allies; the war with Spain must
 “end to the eternal reproach of the nation, with-
 “out satisfaction for past injuries, or security
 “against future insults; and the liberties of
 “Europe would become an easy prey to the
 “ambition of France, who was ever jealous of
 “the prosperity of Great Britain, and equally a
 “foe to her civil and religious rights. And
 “since a peremptory demand of new laws, as
 “preliminary to the granting the necessary sup-
 “plies in a time of actual war, had a fatal ten-
 “dency, either to destroy the freedom and con-
 “stitutional independency of many branches of
 “the legislature, or to leave the nation defence-
 “less, they assured themselves, that their repre-
 “sentatives would not give into a measure so re-
 “pugnant to their constitution; and, in its con-
 “sequences, so destructive to their country.”

NOTWITHSTANDING the strenuous opposition to the new ministry, they were attended with success: the committee of supplies sat, for the first time, on the 23d of November, and continued, by different adjournments, to the 2d of March 1743; when the total of the grants, amounted to 5,314,100 *l.* for the service of the current year, and 598,382 *l.* for a deficiency in the supplies granted for the preceeding year, which made toger the sum of 5,912,482 *l.* The committee of ways and means was established on the 25th of November, and continued till the 24th of March; when they settled the sum of 6,562,492 *l.* to answer the supplies, which was an excess of 650,009 *l.* to raise this sum, the land-tax at 4 *s.* in

in the pound, was computed to furnish 2,000,000*l.* CHAP. I.
 the malt-tax 750,000*l.* the sinking fund 1,000,000*l.*
 overplus in the exchequer 12,492*l.* one mil-
 lion was to be borrowed at three per cent. and 1742.
 800,000*l.* to be raised by a lottery; 518,600*l.*
 was to be borrowed by loans on the excise bills,
 and 481,400*l.* being the deficiencies on the pot
 duty. The amount of the national debt, on the
 31st of December, was, 48,915,047*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.*;
 of which, 1,958,901*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* had been increased
 since the 31st of December 1741; and, though
 it was so considerable, most of the grants stipu-
 lated for the service of the year 1743, met with
 little opposition: but when the estimates for the
 16,000 British troops in Flanders, came to be
 considered, the granting the supply for this ser-
 vice was opposed with the utmost vehemence;
 and it was insisted, that these troops ought to be
 recalled home, and disbanded; which must have
 been a very impolitic step, and would have cir-
 cumvented all the hopes of supporting the Queen
 of Hungary: but this was attended with no man-
 ner of success; and 534,763*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.* was
 granted for the maintenance of 16,359 British
 troops, in Flanders, for the year 1743; as
 also the sum of 647,862*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* for the sup-
 port of 23,610 men at home; and 206,253*l.* 15*s.*
 for the maintenance of 11,550 marines; be-
 sides 2,080,000*l.* for the service of 40,000 sea-
 men.

On the 1st of December, the motion was re-
 newed, "To appoint a committee, to inquire
 into the conduct of Robert Earl of Orford,
 during the last ten years of his administration:"
 which was carried in the negative, by 253 votes
 against 186, and afforded an instance of the su-
 periority of the ministerial party; because several

PART IV. ral members, who, in the former session, clamorously insisted on enquiry and justice; now appeared as openly on the contrary side, and voted against it.

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On the 3d of December, a motion was made, by George Lyttleton, Esq; seconded by Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, for bringing in a bill "For the more effectually securing the independency of parliaments, by limiting the number of officers in the house of commons." But this was thrown out, on a division, by 221 against 196.

On the 21st of December, on a motion, leave was given to bring in a bill, "To amend and explain the laws, relating to the election of members of parliament, for North Britain," which being presented, on the 18th of January, passed through the usual forms of both houses without opposition. But a bill brought in the same day, according to an order of the house, by Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, "For the better regulating the election of members of parliament for England," though it passed the commons, without much difficulty, met a different fate in the other house, being rejected on the second reading. Why these two bills, of the same nature, should meet with such different receptions, seems somewhat abstruse; though the mist vanishes, when it is considered, that Scotland sends but an inconsiderable number of members to either house of parliament, and those are generally attached to the ministry, which made it of little danger to gratify them in their request; but the ministry knew how prejudicial it must consequently be to their interest, had they permitted the latter.

Thus

THUS far the members in the opposition were CHAP. unsuccessful, in the points, so strongly recommended to them by their constituents; and they never attempted, or made any motion, towards the repeal of the septennial law: because they found an infinite majority disposed against it. When the opposition perceived their own debility to atchieve any thing by dint of strength, they began to try what they could effect by artifice: they began to insinuate, that the first principles of the British policy, however long maintained, were in themselves erroneous; and, that considering the former immense expences of the nation, the little fruit that was reaped from them, and the probability of being still from time to time engaged in new quarrels, it was fit to be considered, where it was not proper to enter upon a new system; that it was visible the nation could never make any acquisitions upon the continent, to reimburse their expences; and, that they had therefore consumed themselves only for the benefit of other powers: that the British navy was a sufficient protection, for them, against the whole world; that the regular troops, which these views obliged them to maintain, would prove the ruin of their liberties; and the vast taxes produce the ruin of their trade: so that it was thrown out as a doubt, fit for the nation to consider, whether it was not better to leave the rest of the world, to shift for itself as well as it could; and for Britons to entrench within their own natural boundaries, take their chance, and defend themselves the best they could. This was a doctrine inconsistent with all sense and reason, and contrary to the universal principles of policy, by which the British nation had been governed from the conquest to that time.

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PART time. This was a doctrine of the greatest dan-

IV. ger, because it is an invincible maxim, that who-
 ever becomes master of the continent, must, in
 1742. the end, obtain the dominion of the sea.

THE ministry, towards the close of the last session, had contracted for 16,000 Hanoverians, to be taken into the British pay; and had done this, on justifiable reasons, without the concurrence of parliament, whose approbation was expected, when they assembled the next session. Such a procedure revived all the seeds of discontent among the factious and turbulent part of mankind; it was now publickly asserted, that the interests of Great Britain had been steered, ever since the accession of the house of Brunswick, by the rudder of Hanover; and, by inculcating such notions among the populace, the general part of the nation seemed to resent such an imposition, as making so opulent a kingdom dependent on, and regulated by, the interest of an electorate. The house of commons, in a grand committee of the supply, entered into a very warm debate, concerning the estimate for the Hanoverian troops taken into the British pay; when it was urged, that they could be of no utility, that no supply ought to be granted on so improper an occasion, and that it was contrary to the national interest to retain such unserviceable auxiliaries in the British pay; but it was proved, that the preservation of Europe, required, that the crown of Great Britain should assist the Queen of Hungary, and that such assistance could not be properly granted without this body of Hanoverians; and therefore it was resolved, " That 265,191 l. 6 s. 4 d. should be granted, for defraying the charge of 5,618 horse, and 10,755 foot of the troops of
 " Hanover,

“ Hanover, together with the general officers CHAP. I.
“ and the train of artillery, in the pay of Great
“ Britain, from the 31st of August to the 25th
“ of December 1742.” there being, on a divi- 1742
sion, 260 votes to 193 in the committee, and on
the report 230 to 177 : and it was also resolved,
that a further sum, of 392,697*l.* 8*s.* 3*d.* should
be granted, for continuing these troops in the
British pay, for one year, till the 25th of De-
cember 1743.

THOUGH the continuance of the Hanoverian
forces in the British pay had gained the appro-
bation of the house of commons, it was after-
wards more vigorously opposed in the house of
lords : for, on the 1st of February, on reading
the order of the day, “ For taking into consid-
“ ration the several estimates of the charge of the
“ forces in the pay of Great Britain ;” the Earl
of Stanhope rose up ; and, after observing, that
these troops were raised without the advice or
consent of the senate ; that it was a new burthen
laid upon the nation, by the despotic will of the
ministers ; and that the demands made for their
support, might be said to be a tax laid upon the
people, not by the parliament, but by the court ;
his lordship moved, “ That an humble address
“ should be presented to his majesty, to beseech
“ and advise him, that, considering the excessive
“ and grievous expences incurred by the great
“ number of foreign troops then in the pay of
“ Great Britain, his majesty would be graciously
“ pleased, in compassion to his people, loaded
“ already with such numerous and heavy taxes,
“ such large and growing debts, and greater
“ annual expences than the nation, at any time,
“ ever before sustained, to exonerate his subjects
“ of the charge and burthen of those mētēna-
“ rics

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“ries who were taken into the British service the last year, without the advice or consent of parliament.” The intent of this motion was to prevail on his majesty to disband this body of Hanoverians ; but, though it was strongly supported, after a long debate, it was rejected, by the determination of 90 lords against 35, which occasioned a protest, entered and signed, by 26 lords : the chief speakers, who seconded the motion, being the Duke of Bedford, the Earls of Chesterfield, Sandwich, Viscount Londale, and Lord Hervey ; who were opposed by the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Newcastle, the Earls of Cholmondeley and Bath, Lord Carteret, and Lord Bathurst.

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A JEALOUSY of Hanover, had for a long time prevailed in the British nation : the frequent visits of the late and reigning monarchs to their electoral dominions, contrary to the original terms on which the crown was conferred upon them, had inclined their British subjects to suspect, that they had only the second place in the affection of their sovereign ; and no attempt, for many years, had raised a greater heat of resentment, or excited louder clamours of indignation among the populace, than the hire of the electoral troops : not that they had the least reason to imagine, that his majesty would incur, either by contempt or negligence, the disaffection of his subjects ; but because they apprehended, the ministry, ever since the accession, had, to gain the affections of their sovereign, constantly preferred the interest of his electoral, before his royal dominions ; and that the latter had been constantly overpressed, by the measures that were calculated only for the aggrandizement of the former. It was represented, by the gentlemen
in

in the opposition to the present ministry, that while Great Britain was exhausting herself almost to ruin, in pursuance of schemes pretended to be founded on engagements to the Queen of Hungary; the electorate of Hanover, though under the same engagements, as well as under the same prince, did not appear to contribute any thing as an ally to her assistance, but was paid by Great Britain for all the forces it had then in the field. It was asserted, that these electoral troops could not be employed in Germany against the head of the empire; and that the restoring the ballance of power in Europe, by raising the House of Austria to its former condition of influence, dominion, and strength, was an object quite unattainable by the arms of Great Britain alone, and for the attaining of which, no other power had joined, or was likely to join with them, in any offensive engagements, either against the Emperor or against France: but, if the Queen of Hungary was to be assisted, it was pretended that the ministry had entered into wrong measures for granting her the proper assistance; because, from the situation of her affairs, and that of all Europe, as well as the particular interest and policy of Great Britain, she would have been more effectually assisted with a supply of money, than with a reinforcement of men; as the 38,000 men in pay for her service, cost the British nation 1,400,000 *l.* and it was charged, that one half of such a sum, would have enabled her to maintain a greater number of men, capable of acting wherever her affairs might require.

SURELY this fallacious way of argument, uttered by some of the most eminent and distinguished men in the nation, never could be

PART adopted as their real opinions; but was only in-

IV. forced, in a splenetic mood, to oppose every measure, right or wrong, that might inflame the nation against the ministry. It was unjust to exert them-

1742.

selves, in a condemnation of those measures, that had solely a tendency to the preservation of the Austrian family, and of those territories, which it was once thought so absolutely necessary to defend, and so much honour to acquire. The house of Austria was still to be supported by British influence; but if Flanders, with all her strength, wealth, and fertility, was quietly to fall into the arms of France, farewell to the liberties of Europe! This is her Palladium; and when this is seized, Britain might, in a short time, be no longer a nation, its liberties might be taken away, its constitution destroyed, its religion persecuted, and perhaps the very name abolished: nothing could so effectually prevent these disasters to Britain, as her supporting the house of Austria, who was, at this time, fighting for existence, not for conquests, laurels, and the festivity of triumphs. If the subversion of the house of Austria was to be prevented, certainly it was more eligible to support it with men than money; by perpetually recruiting so considerable an army, the Austrian dominions, populous as they are, must in time have been deficient of opposing France: but there is a natural superiority, confederated powers have over a single nation, which was manifested in the last general war, by the advantages that the united powers had over France; for the loss of men with the former, falling more equally, was the less felt; while the whole loss of the latter, fell upon her own nation, from whence alone she was able to recruit: which circumstance, must enable the

Queen

Queen of Hungary to sustain the war longer, CHAP. and with less inconvenience, than the French: I. not only this, but there was another objection against furnishing the Queen of Hungary with a pecuniary aid, because it could not be less than a million, and so glaring a sum might have tempted the Austrian ministers to a misapplication of a considerable part of it. 1742.

THE opinions of the people are regulated, in a great measure, by the determinations of the parliament; because they consider this great assembly, as the place where truth and reason obtain a candid audience; as a place sacred to justice; and they watch their decisions, as the great rules of policy, and standing maxims of right: of this the ministers were so truly sensible, that, after the conclusion of the debate, on the motion made by the Earl of Stanhope against the Hanoverian forces, they did not yet think their victory, in repelling this censure, sufficiently apparent, unless a motion was admitted, which might imply a full and unlimited approbation of their measures; and therefore the Earl of Scarborough made a motion, that an address should be presented to his majesty, importing, "That, in the unsettled and dangerous situation of affairs in Europe, the sending a considerable body of British forces into the Austrian Netherlands, and augmenting the same with 16,000 of his majesty's electoral troops, and the Hessians in the British pay; and thereby, in conjunction with the Queen of Hungary's troops in the Low Countries, forming a great army for the service of the common cause, was a wise, useful, and necessary measure, manifestly tending to the support and encouragement of his majesty's allies, the real

PRAT “and effectual assistance of the Queen of Hun-

IV. “gary, and the restoring and maintaining the

“ballance of power; and had already produced

1742. “very advantageous consequences.” Which

being objected to, by the Earls of Chesterfield and Oxford, the question was put, and carried in the affirmative, by seventy-eight lords against thirty-five.

THIS convinced the opposition, that the ministry, this session, had too much influence to be retarded in their measures: however, as the session drew near to a close, no less than thirteen of the nobility, and eighty-eight members of the house of commons, assembled, on the 15th of March, and formed a sort of an association; by which, they engaged themselves, and promised to use all their interest with their friends, to give their early attendance on the next session, and exert all their endeavours, for securing the constitution, and the independence of parliament; though it was apprehended, that their intention was principally to subvert the ministry.

HIS majesty having determined to visit his German dominions, this year; no other material transaction passed under the senatorial consultation. But his majesty, on the 26th of February, made a grand promotion of general officers; appointing Philip Honeywood, Esq; General of Horse; Lord Mark Ker, General of Foot; Clement Nevill, Esq; Sir John Arnott, Bart. William Hargrave, Henry Cornwall, Henry Harrison, Thomas Howard, John Cope, and John Legonier, Esqs; to be Lieutenant-Generals: the Duke of Richmond, John Guise, Esq; the Earl of Albemarle, his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, George Read, Stephen Cornwallis, Arch-

Archibald Hamilton, Esqs; and the Earl of CHAP.
Roths, Major-Generals : Alexander Irwin, I:
Richard St George, John Campbell, William
Blakeney, William Handasyde, Humphrey Bland, 1742.
James Oglethorpe, Esqs; Lord Delawar, and the
Duke of Marlborough, Brigadier-Generals: and,
soon after, Peter Campbell, John Jones, Richard
Philips, Roger Handasyde, Henry Hawley, Esqrs,
Lord Tyrawley, and James Scott, Esq; were pro-
moted to the rank of Lieutenant-Generals.

ON the 21st of April, his majesty went to the
house, where, after passing the several acts ready
for the royal assent, he closed the session with a
speech from the throne, to his lords and gentle-
men, acquainting them,

“ THAT the zeal, prudence, and dispatch,
“ with which they had carried on the public bu-
“ siness, during the course of the session, gave
“ him the greatest satisfaction.

“ THAT the British nation, and the common
“ cause, might reap the most beneficial fruits of
“ their vigorous resolutions, he had, at the re-
“ quisition of the Queen of Hungary, ordered
“ his army, in conjunction with the Austrian
“ troops, to pass the Rhine, as auxiliaries to her
“ Hungarian majesty, for her support and as-
“ sistance, and to oppose any dangerous mea-
“ sures, that might affect the balance and liber-
“ ties of Europe, or hinder the re-establishment
“ of the public tranquility upon just and solid
“ foundations. That he had continued a strong
“ squadron in the Mediterranean, and another
“ in the West-Indies, in order to carry on the
“ great work of distressing the Spaniards, and
“ reducing them to safe and honourable terms
“ of peace; as well as of maintaining the rights
“ of navigation and commerce belonging to his
“ subjects:

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“ subjects; and, from the former of these squadrons, his allies, in Italy, had found, and still continued to receive, a most useful and advantageous support.” After which the parliament was prorogued, to the 7th of June, and it continued in recess till the 1st of December.

HIS majesty, was impatient to embark for his German dominions, where, as he determined to put himself at the head of the allied army, he could be on the spot to give his directions for the operations of the campaign. The regency appointed to transact the business of the government, during his majesty's absence, consisted of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Dukes of Grafton, Dorset, Devonshire, Newcastle, Bolton, Montagu and Richmond; the Marquis of Tweeddale; the Earls of Harrington, Bath, Wilmington, Pembroke, Winchelsea and Ilay; Lord Gower, Lord Carteret, and Henry Pelham, Esq; On the 27th of April, his Majesty, and the Duke of Cumberland, set out for Gravesend; where they embarked for Holland; arrived at Helvoetsluys, on the 1st of May; and reached Hanover on the 6th.

BEFORE the recess of parliament, Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth, both, arrived from the West-Indies; as soon after did the transports, with the small remainder of the soldiers, who were so surprizingly reduced, that, out of twelve regiments, it was now impossible to have completed one. Both the admiral and general met with a gracious reception from his majesty; but, though the admiral had often solicited it, no enquiry was set on foot, to examine into the cause of the many unsuccessful attempts against the Spaniards in America. Strange! that a war, commenced by the universal concurrence of the nation,

nation, from whence so many advantages were CHAP. expected, and so little obtained, should be so I. silently neglected, by the present legislature, who advised the prosecution of it with the greatest 1742. vehemence and spirit! Is it not amazing, when the dissensions that had subsisted between the commanding officers in America, were so publicly notorious, to find that no inquiry was established, to satisfy the nation by what means so much blood and treasure was lavishly wasted in the West-Indies? Surprising! when every body was sensible of some egregious misconduct, that none of the commanders were brought to an account to vindicate their behaviour! But this is the more astonishing, when it is considered, that Admiral Vernon, not only voluntarily offered, but even strenuously, insisted on a public examination, to convince the nation who was negligent in promoting, and culpable in obstructing, the necessary measures, for reducing the pride, wealth, and power, of the Spaniards in America.

A LITTLE before the departure of his majesty from his British dominions, the regiment of Highlanders, commanded by Lord Semples, were ordered up to London, only to be reviewed, as they were given to understand, by his majesty; though this was only a stratagem to draw them out of Scotland, and transport them to Flanders: for, as the regiment was composed of independent companies, raised, and armed for the defence of the Highlands, many of them were volunteers, or people of good families, and others had enlisted in the service, from a presumption that they were not to serve out of their own country; and had they suspected what service they were intended for, it was apprehended, they would have absolutely refused to have entered

PART tered England: not that their courage or loyalty

IV. were to be doubted, for this was afterwards manifested, in a very extraordinary manner, by
 1742. their gallant behaviour in Flanders. The re-

giment did not arrive in England till May; and, his majesty being abroad, they were, on the 14th of that month, reviewed, on Finchley Common, by General Wade; who, with other general officers, expressed much satisfaction at their good appearance and discipline: and, as their uniform was a novelty in the southern part of the kingdom, the confluence of spectators, on this occasion, was very numerous. After they were reviewed, it was intended they should march for Gravesend, in order to embark for Flanders: this greatly surprized the whole regiment; and, as they were terrified with an apprehension that they were to be sent into the West-Indies, a considerable body of them grew so discontented and desperate, that having assembled together, on the 17th at night, to the number of 150, with provisions for a week's march, and each of them fourteen charges of ammunition, they marched off with their arms, in a full resolution to return into Scotland, or perish in the attempt. The lords of the regency, on the first notice of this extraordinary incident, dispatched orders to General Blakeney, at Northampton, to take the necessary measures for reducing the mutineers, and preventing the execution of their design: and a party of General Wade's regiment of horse, was immediately detached in the pursuit of them, to oblige them to surrender.

The Highlanders, finding they were closely pursued by the horse, stopped their intended march, and took shelter in Lady Wood, four miles from Oundle, in Northamptonshire; where they were

disco-

discovered, on the 21st, by Major Creed, a gentleman in the commission of the peace for that county, who endeavoured to persuade them to lay down their arms; which they seemed inclinable to do, on a promise of pardon; and the major engaged to write, in their favour, to the Duke of Montagu. But Capt. Ball, who pursued them with the squadron of horse, having notice of their retirement, sent an express to General Blakeney for further orders, and directed Capt. Wade to march towards Dean Thorpe, about two miles distance, to another part of the wood, while he endeavoured to persuade the revolted to submit; but his instances proving ineffectual, and the general joining him that evening about seven, near Bennifield, with a squadron of horse, and another of dragoons, about nine they drew up near the wood where the Highlanders lay. Soon after the principal revolted, sent to desire Capt. Ball, once more, to come to them, with the conditions of surrender; which, being only at discretion, they absolutely rejected: and, as they were very advantageously posted, seemed determined to wait an attack; which, from their known resolution, must have been attended with a considerable loss to their pursuers. But Capt. Ball, finding means, by treating separately with them, to bring first a party of fifteen, and then another of seventeen of them over, the rest, after a little hesitation, surrendered without further resistance; and the whole body of them were conducted to London, under a strong guard, and committed to the Tower: where they were tried by a court martial, and three of the ringleaders were condemned to die; who, on the 18th of July, pursuant to their sentence, were shot on the parade in the Tower,

PART in presence of the other revolters, all the garri-

IV. son being drawn up under arms, to awe them
 from any other disturbance. The other revol-

1742. ters, were, part of them, sent to recruit the
 garri- sons of Gibraltar, and Minorca, and others
 to Jamaica, the Leeward islands, and Georgia.
 As to the regiment, it was soon after embarked
 for Ostend, from whence it proceeded to join
 the allied army then in Germany. This trans-
 action, though it bore at first no extraordinary
 appearance, yet it was afterwards discerned to
 have been a very fatal incident : for, notwith-
 standing the lenity of the government, in making
 but a few examples of justice, the Clans of Scot-
 land, who of old were accustomed to regard
 the individual members of society with a pub-
 lic eye, beheld the execution of their country-
 men with a secret dissatisfaction and resentment;
 and, as they could never be persuaded but their
 treatment was unjust and inhuman, they ardently
 wished for an opportunity to revenge their
 deaths : which was afterwards unhappily put
 into their hands, by a fatal rebellion, whereby
 they depopulated their own country ; spread a
 scene of horror on the northern banks, and a
 reign of poverty on this side the Tweed ; and,
 finally, brought many thousands of themselves,
 and their principal men, to destruction.

THE conclusion of the last campaign, in Ger-
 many, terminated so favourably for the interest
 of the Queen of Hungary, as made it very per-
 ceptible, that all future resistance of the Emperor
 would be ineffectual, in retarding the fortunate
 progress of the Austrian army ; and that the
 French would abandon their unhappy ally, to
 provide for their own domestic security. The
 court of Vienna was now emerging from the
 gloom

gloom of oppression ; and, by the courage of the young heroic prince of Lorrain, directed by the prudence of the glorious Khevenhuller, began to beam forth the rays of that antient lustre, which had mounted the Austrian family to so great a pitch of grandeur and sublimity. The Queen of Hungary was now securely reinstated in the throne of her ancestors ; and, like, Elizabeth and Anne, the two illustrious female monarchs of England, demonstrated what a nation might do when thoroughly united : her subjects were cheerful in the worst circumstances ; she seemed to live and reign in the hearts of her people, who were ready to devote their lives in her service ; her minister, who was alike distinguished by his high birth and eminent qualities, pursued with equal ardour the interest of his royal mistress, and his fellow subjects ; to supply the necessities of a devouring war, he had retrenched the superfluous expences of government, suspended salaries, and annihilated pensions ; and his reputation for probity rendered him successful in all his negotiations.

THE expulsion of the French, out of Bohemia, gave a general alacrity and spirit to the Queen of Hungary, her subjects, and her allies : his Britannic majesty declared his resolution of vigorously assisting her in the ensuing campaign ; the King of Sardinia renewed his promises of fidelity ; and the Dutch were inclinable to grant her a considerable body of their forces. The necessary measures were taken, at the court of Vienna, to collect a potent army, and provide for their maintenance : a suitable supply of men and money was demanded from the respective states, which was immediately furnished : though the states of Hungary made a remonstrance, to

PART the queen, in relation to the succours demanded

IV. from that kingdom ; which occasioned her majesty to call an extraordinary council ; where, on

1742. the 17th of February, not only her ministers, but all the Hungarian deputies, and some of the chief nobility assisted ; when her majesty acquainted them, “ That, having maturely considered
 “ the representations made to her by her faithful
 “ Hungarian subjects, she found them just and
 “ reasonable ; and therefore was resolved to grant
 “ them their requests, as a recompence of their
 “ fidelity, zeal, and bravery, and the blood they
 “ had shed to support her on the throne of her
 “ ancestors : That her sole desire was, to see
 “ them restored to all their antient privileges ;
 “ and hoped, that this new concession of her
 “ royal favour, would attach them still more to
 “ her person and family.” This particular regard, shewn by her majesty, to a people so jealous of their liberties, was productive of the most beneficial consequences : the Hungary diet readily contributed more than was demanded ; the whole nation were unanimous in the cause of their sovereign ; and fresh recruits came crowding to augment her armies.

As it was to be expected that France would withdraw her forces out of Germany, or provide a numerous army against the spring ; the court of Vienna entered into a consultation, with the British court, concerning the operations of the campaign : the Austrian forces were proposed to be augmented to 180,000 men ; of these 93,000 were to be employed in Germany ; 27,000 in Italy ; in Flanders and upon the Rhine 20,000 ; in the Trentine, Tirol, and other adjacent parts of Bavaria 15,000 ; upon the Adriatic, ready to succour the Italian armies, or awe his Sicilian majesty,

jeſty, 12,000 ; and 13,000 men in the gariſons CHAP.
bordering on the Turkiſh dominions, which ne- I.
ver could be totally left unfurniſhed : as the troops
deſtined for the ſervices of the campaign, were 1742,
ſtipulated at 167,000 men ; theſe, together with
the 16,000 Engliſh, 16,000 Hanoverians, 6,000
Heſſians, and 40,000 of his Sardinian majeſty's
regular forces, beſides 20,000 militia, would a-
mount to 265,000 men, in the ſervice of the
Queen of Hungary, in Germany, Flanders, and
Italy.

HER Hungarian majeſty was no leſs intent in
promoting the happineſs of her ſubjects, than
they were induſtrious in the protection of their
ſovereign ; and Count Frederic Harrach, gover-
nor-general of the Auſtrian Netherlands, being
deſirous of reſigning his government, Count Ko-
ningſegg Erps was appointed to ſucceed him ;
who arrived at Bruſſels, in March, and imme-
diately publiſhed an edict for abolishing the
franchiſes, by which ſome particular perſons, or
places, in that country, pretended an exemption
from the uſual impoſts and taxes : this ſalutary
ſtep, of the regency, was highly agreeable to the
public, and greatly increaſed their affection for
the queen. But, while her majeſty was thus
making preparations for retaliating her injuries
on the French, ſhe did not permit ſuch of the
inhabitants of Prague, as were ſuſpected to have
aſſiſted the French during their reſidence in that
city, to eſcape with impunity : for Count Collow-
rath, was ſent there, at the head of a commiſſion
of inquiry ; who, on his arrival, ordered the
archbiſhop of Prague, and ſeventeen of the prin-
cipal nobility and clergy, to retire to their eſtates,
and continue there till the further pleaſure of her
majeſty was known. On the 1ſt of March an
edict

PART edict was published, by sound of trumpet, pro-
IV. scribing several, who had fled or absented them-
 selves, declaring them as traitors, and their es-
 tates to be forfeited, if they did not surrender
 themselves in six weeks after the proclamation:
 but the commissioners found so many defective
 in their allegiance, that the confiscations amount-
 ed to three millions of florins: and, as soon as
 these preparatory steps were taken, her Hunga-
 rian majesty declared her intention of repairing
 to Prague, to solemnize the ceremony of her
 coronation, for that kingdom.

1742. FRANCE, by abandoning Prague, shewed her
 designs of evacuating the whole kingdom of Bo-
 hemia, though she had still a strong garrison at
 Egra; nor was it less visible, that she did not
 intend her armies should make any long con-
 tinuance, even in, or near, Bavaria: she found
 the execution of her first scheme impracticable;
 Bohemia was re-conquered, the French altered
 their plan, and their troops were to retire from
 the empire in general. The war in the heart
 of the empire, as France managed it, was at-
 tended with a consumption of men, which af-
 fected her more than the expence, though that
 was excessive: this alone was a sufficient reason
 for France to withdraw her troops from the em-
 pire; but another, not less cogent, was, that
 France found, if she kept her armies there much
 longer, she might lose not only her own weight
 in Germany, but so lessen the interest of the
 emperor, that he might be always her pensioner,
 but could never be an ally of any power or utility.

EVER since the defection of his Prussian majes-
 ty from the Nymphenburgh alliance, the French
 ministry found they had taken too many objects
 into their view, and Cardinal de Fleury was in-
 tent

tent on contracting the plan, and to steer into a narrower but safer channel: for, in the case of a general war, it was the opinion of all the experienced generals of France, that it was incumbent on them to transfer the scene of war into the Austrian Netherlands, which they might do by the siege of some important place; where, they had been long found to have inexhaustible advantages; and, where, France always steps forth to call the powers of Europe to battle.

WHILE France was endeavouring to extricate herself from the dangers that surrounded her in Germany, she was deprived of her ablest minister, the Cardinal de Fleury, who died, on the 18th of December, at his seat at Issy, aged eighty-nine, after a tedious indisposition, in which he retained his senses till the moment he expired. This minister had governed the king and kingdom absolutely for sixteen years; and, though so long possessed of ministerial power, his whole annual revenue, both private and public, did not amount to more than 91,000 livres; and, considering his rank, and the customs of the present age, it is surprising to hear, that his whole estate, including his furniture, plate, and jewels, did not amount to above 80,000 livres. As a private man, he possessed many valuable qualities; as a statesman, he was highly serviceable to his country; though, by his pacific disposition, he imposed on several foreign powers; while, by his intrigues, in different courts, he endeavoured secretly to disturb the peace of Europe by wars, which he had no intention to take part in, whatever hopes he might give them of his assistance. The cardinal seemed designed, by providence, to be an instrument of altering the politics of France; and

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PART and intended to lay the jealousies of her neigh-

IV. bours, by convincing them, that it was his opinion, a crown might become more solidly potent
 1742. by the acquisitions of trade, than the enlargement of territory : his eminency knew, that from the constant jealousies of the power of France, since the reign of Henry IV. the other European princes would seem better satisfied, by France putting herself upon trade, than attempting to gratify her ambition by the force of her arms : and it was obvious to the cardinal, that if Richlieu and Mazarin had confined their views to commerce and peace, France would have been infinitely richer, and consequently more powerful. These pacific sentiments were very predominant with the cardinal ; and France, under his administration, extended her commerce, so as to give umbrage, and not without reason, to the maritime powers ; but particularly to England, whose trade was visibly diminished, as that of France was increased : but the vivacity, more than the envy of his countrymen, often interrupted the cardinal from pursuing his favourite plan ; and, as he found the natural impetuosity of the nation would never permit them to wait the slow, though certain, pace of commerce, he was sometimes obliged to act conformably with the popular opinion.

THE French monarch viewed with an eye of commiseration and sorrow the long infirmity of the cardinal ; he frequently visited him in his illness ; and one day his majesty, being accompanied by the Dauphin, was agreeably pleased, to hear his old tutor, informing the royal heir of France, “ That princes, of his rank, were seldom accustomed to honour, with their presence, a person in the agonies of death. That how-
 “ ever

“ ever these visits could not but be of use to him, CHAP.
“ since, they would oblige him to consider the I.
“ misery of human nature more nearly, by put-
“ ting him in mind that even princes are but 1742.
“ men ; and, that sooner or later, the same fate
“ must attend them :” but, when his majesty
was informed that the cardinal was no more
numbered among the living, he was almost in-
consolable for so great a loss, and paid the high-
est honours to his memory that royal gratitude
or generosity could bestow : the most magnifi-
cent obsequies were celebrated for the deceased,
in the metropolitan church of Paris ; and a su-
perb mausoleum was erected, over the remains
of the cardinal, in the church of St Thomas of
the Louvre, which had been rebuilt upon this
occasion, and was afterwards called St Louis of
the Louvre. France never had a minister more
beloved, nor more worthy of esteem, than Car-
dinal de Fleury ; but the affliction of heart which
the king had sincerely expressed for the loss of
this great minister, forms his fairest elogium ; be-
cause, to be loved, and thus regreted, is always
considered as the most indubitable mark of real
virtue.

THE French monarch, immediately on the
decease of the cardinal, declared he would take
the government into his own hands ; and, for
some time, applied himself very diligently to the
administration of his affairs : but the disinclina-
tion his majesty was naturally known to have for
such a multiplicity of business, made it univer-
sally apprehended he would not long persevere
in the fatigue, but select some new favourite to
ease him from the burthen of state. This occa-
sioned great intriguing at court ; and M. de
Chauvelin, the late keeper of the seals, whose

PART disgrace was occasioned by his transacting the

IV. treaty of Vienna in 1738, flattered himself of
 being restored to his office, for which he was
 1742. certainly the best qualified of any man in the

kingdom : but he took too indecent a step to succeed ; for, on the 4th of February, he wrote a letter to his majesty, desiring that he might be recalled from his exile ; and this letter was accompanied with a memorial, tending to prove that the cardinal was but a weak man, and to point out the means of putting the affairs of the kingdom on a foot, which would best agree with the glory of the king, and the felicity of the people : such a memorial so highly exasperated his majesty, that he took a resolution of causing the author to be shut up for ever, in one of the worst prisons of the kingdom ; but, through the intercession of the foreign ministers, the king was prevailed upon not to put his design in execution. However, the ill success of M. de Chauvelin, encouraged the other candidates for the royal favour ; of whom none, at present, were so highly carested as M. de Orri, comptroller of the finances, who, by means of his post, and adulation to the king, had solidly established himself in his affections.

THE court of France, expecting the allied army in Flanders would march into Germany, and act offensively ; resolved to assemble a numerous army to oppose them, and secure the frontiers. The army, which soon after the commencement of the war, consisted of 220,000 men, including 30,000 militia, had been greatly reduced, but was ordered to be augmented to 300,250 men ; 76 new troops of horse and dragoons, were to be added to the several regiments of cavalry, and the rest of the augmentation was

to be effected by adding five men to every troop, CHAP. the whole cavalry, consisting of 75 regiments, I. being to be augmented to 40,250 men. The infantry, with the addition of seven new German battalions, was to be completed to 140,000 men; and the 30,000 militia were to be increased to 120,000: and, of these, 70,000 were to assemble, under Marshal Noailles to oppose the march of the allied army from Flanders into Germany; and 20,000 were to reinforce Marshal Broglio in Bavaria: but, in case of necessity on the side of the Low-Countries, the army under Marshal Noailles was to be augmented to 92,000 foot, and 23,000 horse, in all 115,000 men. 1742.

As the first step towards accomplishing these military preparations, on the 10th of February, the French monarch made a grand promotion of 14 Lieutenant-Generals, 30 Marshals de Camp, or Major-Generals, and 72 Brigadiers. An edict was issued, at the same time, for augmenting the militia; and, on the 12th of February, an order was affixed in the public places of Paris, “commanding every unmarried man, in each “company of tradesmen, artificers, labourers, “and other inhabitants, whose condition or employment did not exempt them from the service, from the age of sixteen to forty, to give “in their names to the officers appointed by “M. de Marville, lieutenant-general of the police, before whom they were to draw lots for “serving in the militia:” and the method of drawing these lots, was, for thirty balls, of which six were black, and the others white, to be thrown in an urn, or hat, in the presence of the lieutenant of the police, his clerk, and the curate of the parish; from these, thirty men were to draw each of them a ball, and those who drew the

PART black, were immediately registred, and sent to
IV. some corps of the army. This edict greatly

— alarmed the inhabitants of Paris; and the magi-
1742. strates, on the 24th, made their remonstrances,
to the king, against so unusual an edict, in which
they were seconded by the parliament; but could
obtain no immediate redress, though his majesty
soon after softened the execution of it, on condi-
tion that the city furnished a regiment of 1,800
men. As to the rest of the kingdom, the edict
was vigorously executed, and occasioned a gene-
ral discontent; because the people were weary of
so unsuccessful a war, nor could patiently behold
their fellow-subjects torn from the plough and the
counter, to serve for chopping blocks to hussars
and pandours.

To raise the necessary funds, for the main-
tenance of such an additional number of troops,
several extraordinary taxes were created: and six
millions of livres proposed to be raised by way of
Tontine; being a lottery, denominated from the
projector, whose name was Tonti, by which, there
is an annuity, after a certain rate of interest,
granted to a number of people, divided into
classes, according to their respective ages: so that
annually, the whole fund of each class, is divided
among the survivors of that class, till at last it
falls to one; and, upon the extinction of that
life, reverts to the power by which the Tontine
was erected, and which becomes thereby secu-
rity for the due payment of the annuities.

WHILE France was thus providing for her own
security at home, she neglected no opportunity
of establishing her interest abroad. Though the
Emperor had loudly complained against the in-
activity of Marshal Broglio in defending the
electorate, and the Spaniards had as loudly re-
monstrated

monstrated against the injustice of France by not assisting them in Italy; yet the former was quieted by the promise of a considerable supply of money, and the latter by the assurances of receiving a speedy reinforcement of men. There was no danger to be apprehended from the King of Prussia: for France no sooner began to perceive the growing jealousy of Europe, the declension of her interest both in Germany and Holland, as well as the particular resentment of the court of Vienna, than she assumed an air of moderation to all the powers of Germany, and particularly the King of Prussia. Though this monarch, by abandoning the French after the battle of Czaßlaw, had immersed them into all their subsequent difficulties; yet, the ministry of Versailles, far from betraying an unguarded resentment, managed the temper of her late ally; and, by loading him with fresh caresses, at length, their insinuations prevailed on his Prussian majesty, to believe, that his new acquisition of Silesia could only be secured to him by having the head of the Empire for his friend and ally, and by reducing the power of the only family that had any right, or could have any views, to dispossess him. Where glory and interest coincide, there is no nation in the world so scrupulously nice and tenacious as the French; but they can always relinquish any share in the glory of a great action for the sake of interest. With this view, France had acquainted his Prussian majesty, that she was apprehensive of an offensive alliance formed against her, between their Britannic and Hungarian majesties, and that their intention was to penetrate into the Empire, and continue a destructive war in the very heart of Germany; at the same time representing her own pacific disposition,

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PART position, that she was willing to recall her troops,
IV. and establish a peace on the *uti possidetis* ; assur-

1742. ing his Prussian majesty, that she consented to
 have no apparent hand in composing the differ-

ences of the Empire. This soothed the vanity
 of her principal engine ; the Prussian monarch
 was fired with the ostentation of prescribing the
 terms of peace to the contending powers, and of
 supporting the dignity of the Emperor. Ac-
 cordingly his Prussian majesty caused a declara-
 tion to be made in January, to his Britannic ma-
 jesty, and the States-General, “ That he could
 “ not suffer British troops, or any other in the
 “ pay of Great Britain, to enter the Empire,
 “ and promote a continuance of the war. That
 “ as an Elector, and Prince of the Empire, he
 “ was obliged to maintain the peace of Germany;
 “ and, therefore, he would take upon himself
 “ to oblige the troops of France to retire ; and
 “ offered to labour, in conjunction with England
 “ and the Republic, to procure a peace, upon
 “ equitable terms, between the Emperor and the
 “ house of Austria :” but, at the same time, de-
 clared, “ That, in case any new measures should
 “ be taken to disturb the repose of the Empire,
 “ he would immediately send his contingent, of
 “ 15,000 men, to the service of the Emperor ;
 “ and that, if these should not be sufficient, he
 “ would follow them in person with 50,000
 “ more.” Thus the maritime powers were
 complemented with the mediation ; a mediation
 also courted by the Emperor, and with a great
 deal of reason, because he was sure to be strongly
 supported at the congress, and the Queen of Hun-
 gary could have no pretence for refusing what-
 ever was allowed him ; or, if she did, France
 would be then able to put herself into a more
 advan-

advantageous condition of attacking her, when her auxiliaries were disbanded. The French monarch wanted to withdraw his troops from Germany, the reputed grave of his soldiers, where, it was well known, the new levies could be sent only with compulsion: but the ministry of Versailles, here, politicly conferred on his Prussian majesty the honour of obliging them to repass the Rhine; because his partiality would be too glaring, the veil which covered the plan of France too transparent, had not the King of Prussia declared as well against the foreign troops already in the Empire, as those expected to be designed to march thither.

BUT the French were extremely apprehensive, that the Dutch would soon unite in a resolution of assisting the Queen of Hungary: because, towards the close of the last campaign, they had promised to garrison the Austrian towns in Flanders; which, as they could not be evacuated, was in effect an offer of auxiliary troops; since, if those forces had been added to the Austrians, an equal number of Austrians must have been subducted to garrison the frontier: not only this, but the States voted, the Queen of Hungary, a pecuniary supply, of 840,000 florins, in lieu of the 5,000 men they were obliged to furnish by treaty; and this supply was agreed to be doubled by the states of Holland and West Friesland, who actually paid their quota; but, as the province of Utrecht, which had always discovered an attachment to the French interest, strenuously opposed it, the other provinces were prevented from immediately giving their assent. To ward off so weighty a blow, as seemed to threaten her from the Dutch, required all the attention and vigilance of France: the French ministry represented

PART represented to the States, that it was necessary
IV. to establish the repose of Europe; and that a

proposition, on the part of the state, upon the
 1742. foot of the *uti possidetis*, would be conformable
 to reason, and to all that could be most glorious,
 and most useful, for the Republic: that
 it would be the true means of restoring peace
 for the common good of Europe, and consequently
 for discharging the state from those extraordinary
 armaments in which the continuance of the present
 war had engaged them: that no power in Europe
 could resent this mediation of the regency of the
 Republic, because their fidelity to their engagements,
 as well as their love for peace, would all be set,
 by this means, in the fairest light; and it would
 appear, by the strongest evidence, that this was
 the surest method of procuring the welfare of
 all parties in general; and of each of them in
 particular. Though the French, at some times,
 used every art of moderation, and all professions
 of cordiality, in their expostulations, for the
 Republic; at other times, they endeavoured to
 intimidate the States, by a menacing air of
 their potency, and the ill effects attending
 their indignation: they represented, that the
 assistance of the Republic, for carrying on an
 offensive war against the Emperor, or against
 France, would be, and must be always, regarded
 at the court of Versailles on the foot of a war,
 unnecessary, unjust, and, however it might
 end, pernicious to the republic; because the
 amity of France, would be converted to the
 most violent enmity; and its present sentiments
 of high esteem, be entirely overturned: and
 that the Republic, after the first step of
 hostility against France, would find herself
 pushed every day, whether she would

would or not, to take a greater, and increasing proportion in a most ruinous war: the French also reminded the Dutch, that a third power, though it did not directly commit any hostility, declared itself however an enemy, by putting it in the power of one party to attack the other with greater strength; and by this means the republic, by sending its troops into the Austrian Netherlands, would give an opportunity to the Queen of Hungary, and at the same time to Great Britain, to employ all their forces in conquering the dominions of the house of Bavaria, and to make themselves masters of the Imperial crown, in favour of the grand duke, by a war that must put all Germany in confusion; a fault that the republic would dearly pay for, by the loss of her liberty; by declaring itself, though indirectly, yet in a manner equally essential, an enemy to the emperor, to the empire, and to France. Was not this a strange inconsistency in the politics of France? For a nation, thus formally and repeatedly, to declare against those identical acts, in another power, which she herself had been so long, and so publicly, transacting in the face of all mankind, would have been astonishing, had such declarations proceeded from any other part of the world; but, as it was one of the wretched expedients of the court of Versailles, here the wonder ceases.

THE general spirit that now reigned among the Dutch, soon over-ruled the particular interests of single provinces, and awed the dependents of France from so violently declaiming in the views of that crown: the Dutch owned the necessity of securing the confines of their country, by possessing, with their own troops, those places which the Austrians were obliged to for-

PART fake; and their deliberations were so far influ-

IV. enced by the incitements of the British ministry,
and the army in Flanders, that, in February, the

1742. States of Holland and West Friesland came to a resolution, of granting the Queen of Hungary an effectual succour of 20,000 men: which, at length, on condition that none of the foreign generals, appointed in the preceding year, should be employed on this occasion, was agreed to by the rest of the provinces; and, in May, passed the assembly of the States General; notwithstanding all the remonstrances, and opposition, of the Marquis de Fenelon. This corps consisted of twenty-four squadrons of horse, making 4,140 men; and twenty battalions of foot, making 15,910 men; in all, 20,050; commanded, in chief, by Count Maurice of Nassau; but, though they were so early destined for the service of the Queen of Hungary, they were not in motion till the beginning of July.





CHAPTER II.

Military operations in BAVARIA: the storming of the Imperial camp at LIMBACH, by the AUSTRIANS; the dispossession of the FRENCH from DINGELFING, LANDSHUT, and DECKENDORFF; and the expulsion of MARSHAL BROGLIO out of GERMANY. The motions of the confederate army, and the FRENCH under MARSHAL NOAILLES; the battle of DETTINGEN; and the retreat of NOAILLES into ALSACE.

DURING the winter, the French and Ba-CHAP. II.
varians, and also the Austrians, continued II.
quiet in the electoral dominions; but, as the
latter consisted of above 60,000 men, and the 1743.
former of little more than 40,000, the Aus-
trians, by their superiority, had the advantage
procuring the necessary sustenance both for
the

PART the men and horses; while more than 5,000 of

IV. the French, and a considerable number of Bavarians, were swept off by diseases, which were
 1743. attributed to the bad diet, and other inconveni-

encies, they met with. To prevent this malady, among their forces, the pay of the French horse and foot, in Bavaria, was augmented two sols a day, and orders were given for daily distributing two ounces of rice to every man; and 3,000 recruits were draughted, from the Militia, and sent, in February, to reinforce the army under Marshal Broglio; who had exhorted his officers to do all that lay in their power towards removing the sources of those inconveniences, which were daily diminishing his army. Marshal Khevenhuller, and Prince Charles of Lorraine, had been at Vienna, and held several consultations relating to the operations of the campaign; but though the Austrian army was cantoned, in a line, from the Upper Palatinate to Passau, and from thence to Saltzburgh, nothing was undertaken; because Marshal Broglio had posted his army in such a defensible situation, that the Austrians did not think proper to attack them, till they found what their auxiliaries were effecting in Flanders; who, they expected, would endeavour to join them in Germany.

As his Britannic majesty had promised, the Queen of Hungary, to order his troops into Germany; in pursuance of this engagement, the British forces, about the middle of February, marched out of their quarters, advancing towards the Rhine, with as much expedition as the season of the year would admit. On the 26th of the same month, the train of artillery arrived at Maestricht; the dragoons and infantry went into cantonment, about that town, Aix la Chapelle,

pelle, and the duchy of Juliers; the horse guards, and horse, taking up their quarters at Bruffels; where they remained till the end of April.

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PHILIP CHARLES D'ELTZ, archbishop and elector of Mentz, died, on the 21st of March; and, as a voice in the electoral college, and the acquisition of a powerful prince, would be of the greatest consequence, to either of the parties then contending about the fate of Germany; Marshal Stair thought proper to prosecute his march farther into the Empire, that the free voice of the chapter might not be influenced by the French army, then assembling at Landau, under Marshal Noailles; and that he might effectually oppose the other designs of that general, and save the Queen of Hungary from the ruin threatened her, by the junction of his army with the troops under Marshal Broglie: and for this purpose, he appointed the general rendezvous, of the whole allied army, to be at Hoechst, upon the Maine, near Francfort. But the British Marshal, finding the weather very bad, and the roads impassable, took up his quarters at Aix-la-Chapelle, during the cantonment, which lasted much longer than he expected; for a great quantity of snow falling, in the beginning of April, rendered the roads so excessively bad, that the army could not immediately leave their cantonments. The Austrians and Hanoverians were afterwards in motion; but the Hessians, making objections against marching into the Empire, were sent to garrison the barrier towns, in the room of the Austrians. On the 20th of April, the British army quitted their cantonments; when they again marched in divisions; and, passing through the territory of Juliers, and the electorate of Cologne, Lieutenant-

PART Lieutenant-General Legonier, with the first division,

IV. consisting of all the grenadiers, crossed the

Rhine, on a bridge of boats at Newidt, a town,

1743. subject to a count of the same name, about six

leagues above Bonn; where, he halted till joined

by the rest of the army: from whence,

they continued their march, along the banks

of the Rhine, till the beginning of May;

when, they began to assemble near Hoechst,

on the banks of the Maine, where proper

ground was laid out for their encampment.

The Austrians, under the command of Mar-

shal Neuperg, and the Duke d'Arenberg, ar-

rived about the same time, and encamped, on

the right, at a league distance from the British

troops; and the Hanoverians, under Lieutenant-

General Ilton, arriving towards the end of May,

encamped on the left; Marshal Stair taking up

his quarters at Hoechst, which was about the

center of the whole. Marshal Stair, before he

approached the neighbourhood of Francfort,

sent Quarter-Master-General Bland to assure his

Imperial majesty, who then resided in that city,

“ That the British troops marched into the Em-

“ pire, with no other view but to procure the

“ means of restoring peace to it; That his Bri-

“ tannic majesty, in appointing him comman-

“ der of them, had strictly charged him to avoid

“ every thing that might, in the least, strike at

“ the dignity of the head of the Empire; and,

“ therefore, that the Emperor, might be per-

“ suaded, that the march of those troops would

“ be so ordered, that they should not disturb his

“ Imperial majesty's residence at Francfort.”

At the same time Marshal Stair, caused it to be

notified, to the neighbouring princes and imper-

rial towns, that he had no orders to act against

the

the Emperor, but only to oblige the French to leave Germany : on this declaration, several states of the Empire, who formerly pretended to oppose the march of the British forces into Germany, now proclaimed their approbation with great freedom ; making no difficulty to confess, that the neighbourhood of the French, obliged them to disavow, what, in reality, they favoured : and the regency of Francfort, particularly, expressed their intention of observing a strict neutrality : but the Emperor retired to Munich, for the security of his person ; and did not return, till he was compelled to it, by the loss of his hereditary dominions.

THE banks of the Maine, were always remarkable for the assembling and encampment of armies, during the wars of the Empire ; and the camp of Hoechst had been often chosen, as a strong place, and very difficult to be forced, the river winding so far about as to secure the right flank, and part of the rear. The allied army, being encamped in one line, extended so far as to maintain a free communication with the city of Mentz on the right, and Francfort on the left ; the latter of which, being a free town, and a place of more plenty, was chiefly resorted to, by the army, for provisions, and all other necessities. Marshal Stair gave strict and early orders against marauding, which were so well observed as to occasion a general plenty in the camp ; though, during the march, the inhabitants of several villages, concealed their provisions, some for fear of being plundered, and others out of a partiality to the French ; or, if they exposed them to sale, they demanded a double price : but the Jews, who followed the army in great numbers, perceiving these inconveniencies,

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PART veniencies, soon found out a remedy ; and, by

IV. their skill and industry in trade, and their knowledge of the country, brought up abundance of provisions, and necessaries of every kind ; on which, as they were found so useful, they were employed as undertakers of bread and forage, and became principal agents to the army, with respect to all provisions.

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THE ministry of Versailles expected these motions of the allied army, and had been making preparations to obstruct their junction with the Austrians in Bavaria. No sooner had the allies commenced their march towards the Rhine, than Marshal Noailles, at the head of 70,000 men, entered the Palatinate, and also advanced towards the Rhine ; where he seized Spire, Worms, Oppenheim, and all the places on that side the river, above Mentz ; as also the city of Heidelberg, on the Neckar. At the same time, Marshal Coigni, with an army of 60,000 men, was ordered to defend Alsace, and the neighbouring provinces, to oppose Prince Charles, if he attempted to pass the Rhine on the side of Suabia. But the main body of the French, under Marshal Noailles, continued on the west-side of the Rhine ; and the confederate army remained in their camp, till they found the success of the campaign in Bavaria.

As the Austrian army in Bavaria consisted of 64,000 men, the French intended to augment the forces under Marshal Broglio to 80,000. The Emperor carried on levies, in his electoral dominions, with the most rigorous compulsion ; every fifth man among the unmarried, and every sixth among the married men, being obliged to take arms, in the defence of their country : and the Emperor also demanded, of the circle of Suabia,

Suabia, a passage for 20,000 men, to recruit the French army in Bavaria ; but, as this reinforcement did not arrive till the beginning of May, the French and Bavarians could not immediately assemble a sufficient army to encounter the Austrians.

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WHEN the allied forces, under Marshal Stair, were advancing towards Germany, Prince Charles of Lorraine, left Vienna, on the 13th of April, and arrived, on the 25th, at the army in Bavaria ; which then lay between the Inn and the Iser, extending from Vilshoven, through Griesbatch, towards Branau. His highness assiduously applied himself in reviewing and collecting together all his forces ; which when he effected, he opened the campaign, by seeking after the French and Bavarian army, and endeavouring to bring them to a decisive battle. At this time Marshal Broglio, with about 20,000 French, was posted, in the Upper Palatinate, to assist the garrison of Egra, which was blocked up by General Festtitz ; and the Emperor had assembled a body of 20,000 men, including 6,000 Palatines, the greatest part of which lay encamped at Limbach, near Branau, in a very advantageous situation, under the command of Count Minuzzi. The Emperor was impatient for Marshal Broglio to join the Bavarians, and attack the Austrians ; but the Marshal avoided it, and declared that he would not shed the blood of the troops, committed to his care, by attempting impossibilities. The French marshal, in the mean time, was intent on preserving the garrison of Egra ; which the Austrians had strongly invested ; and, by seizing the towns of Schwandorf, Naaburg, and Falkenburgh, cut off all communication with the garrison, and almost drove the French out of the

PART Upper Palatinate : which brought the French
IV. marshal to a resolution of relieving it. For this

purpose the marshal came privately to Amberg ;
1743. and, on the 15th of April, sent a large convoy of provisions, escorted by ten battalions and thirty squadrons, under the Lieutenant-General Marquis de Chayla ; who entered the place, and reinforced the garrison with five battalions : on which the Austrians abandoned the blockade ; and the design of reducing it was laid aside, till a more favourable opportunity : while General Festitz, retired to join the body under Prince Lobkowitz, who was posted, with 15,000 men, to attend the motions of Marshal Broglie.

PRINCE CHARLES caused three bridges to be thrown over the Inn, with a design to incommode the Palatines, who had taken up their winter-quarters in the archbishopric of Saltzburgh ; but they, on the first motion of the Austrians, retired to the Bavarian camp at Limbach. Prince Charles having left a detachment of 14,000 men, near Altheim, for a body of observation, under the command of the Count de Hohemembs, a general of horse, recrossed the Inn, and joined the main army, which consisted of 30,000 men, in the new camp of Griesbach : from whence, on the 27th of April, he detached a party, under Lieutenant-General Bernklau, and Count Nadasti, to Pfarkirchen, with orders to surprize and bring off the French partisan La Croix, with all his people ; which they immediately executed ; La Croix, and his whole party, consisting of about 300 men, having, after some resistance, been either killed or made prisoners. Whereupon the French, who were in garrison, at Eggenfelden, abandoned that place, leaving behind them some magazines of hay and straw,
and

and fifty of their sick ; and were followed by two French regiments of horse, who were at Thaur, and retreated towards Garghoffer and Dinkelsing, on the Iser.

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AFTER this favourable beginning, Prince Charles, on the 28th, marched his whole army towards Branau, with a resolution to attack the Bavarians in their camp at Limbach, and the garrison of Erlach, which was adjacent to the camp. On the 29th, in the evening, the Austrian army arrived at Ahring, where they continued all the night under arms, and marched the next morning towards Branau. Prince Charles had given orders for the van-guard, consisting of 2,000 horse, and nineteen companies of grenadiers, commanded by Lieutenant-General Berlichingen, Major-General Plaz, and Colonel Tierheim, to attack the church of Erlach, which was defended by a double palisade, and chevaux de frize; and to carry it, if possible, by assault. While his highness was attacking the camp, General Berlichingen begun to put his orders in execution; having, for that purpose, placed his horse on the right of the church, and his foot on the left: but, as it was found so strongly intrenched, and the approaches to it embarrassed with hewn trees; and, as the garrison had still a communication behind, with the Bavarian camp, and the town of Branau, General Berlichingen found they were continually receiving fresh men, having increased their number from 100, which it was at first, to 300; he therefore perceived the church could not be stormed without a considerable loss, and judged it necessary to bring up four field pieces, which played upon the church with good success, whilst the grenadiers were making themselves masters of the neighbouring houses: then

PRAT the cavalry, being ordered to the right, cut off
 IV. the communication with the camp; upon which,
 the garrison, being 270, surrendered prisoners
 1743. of war, having lost above thirty in the attack.

WHILE the van-guard were employed at the church of Erlach, Prince Charles was making the dispositions for attacking the Bavarian camp; which lay behind a large and deep ditch, through which there run a rivulet, that made the ground marshy about it, and rendered it impassable, without a bridge: besides the camp itself was, in other respects, so well situated, that all the general officers agreed, they had never seen any so strong; it being, besides the ditch above-mentioned, secured by ravelins, and the avenues to it that way entirely obstructed. However, an attempt was made to attack the Bavarians in front; and the Austrian cavalry exposed themselves, for that purpose, some time to the fire of their artillery: but, having found the undertaking impossible, Prince Charles was obliged to think of new measures for facilitating the attack; and resolved to send a strong detachment, round about, to possess the eminencies on the right. Accordingly, after taking the church, General Berlichingen was sent, with 2,000 horse, and nine companies of grenadiers, a great way round, by the mountains, to endeavour to get over the deep ditch, which secured the camp, and went far into the country: at the same time Colonel Tierheim, with six companies of grenadiers, and 150 Croats, were placed in a mill, on the left; and Major-General St Ignon, with a body of horse, and two companies of grenadiers, was posted on the same side with General Berlichingen. The Hussars, under General Nadaſti, were divided into two bodies, and posted, the first to-
 wards

wards the two cannons of the corps under General St Ignon, that they might pass the ditch, which was in that part not so steep; and the other body more to the left. But these dispositions cost so much time and labour, that his highness had little hopes of coming at the Bavarians for that day; whose position, both of horse and foot, varied, according to the ground, and the motions of the Austrians; General Minuzzi, who commanded the Bavarians in chief, having shewed the skill of an experienced general in taking all advantages. At last, General Berlichingen appeared upon the hills; and Count Nadaſti, with great labour, passed over the ditch: and, while the Bavarians were preparing to repulse the latter, the former advanced; and General Nadaſti, then falling upon the Bavarians, overthrew both their infantry and cavalry; which put them entirely to flight, and they were closely pursued by General Berlichingen; who, together with the Generals Luchese and Seebellony, shewed a great deal of valour upon this occasion. By this time, three more of the Austrian regiments of foot, had passed the ditch, and joined in the pursuit of the Bavarians, whose infantry was very much galled, by the fire which Colonel Count Tierheim made upon them, by his musketeers, from the mill. While this was doing, the whole Austrian infantry passed the ditch, and formed, on the other side, in less than half an hour; but the Bavarians precipitately fled from their camp, endeavouring to make their escape towards Branau. Colonel Tierheim pursued the Bavarians to the bridge of Branau; where the garrison, fearing the Austrians would enter together with the Bavarians, shut up the great gate, and left only the wicket open: but the Austrian troops had surrounded

PART rounded the Bavarians from the eminencies to the

IV. bridge, and killed, wounded, or took prisoners, a great number, of officers and soldiers. How-

ever, a considerable part of the Bavarian horse, as well as foot, got into the town, at the beginning of the action ; but after the shutting up of the great gate, and the Austrians being so near it, General Berlichingen drove a great many into the Inn ; which, some swam over, others endeavoured to pass by laying hold of the tails of their horses, but few escaped that way, and a great number of their troops perished miserably in the river. General Nadaſti continued the pursuit, towards Markel, till late at night : and General Hohenembs, being ordered to advance, with his body of observation, in proportion as he found the Austrians draw near to Branau, he executed his orders, and received immediate advice of their success, with directions to advance towards Branau, and intercept those that fled that way ; for this purpose he detached General Baronai in the night, with 800 Hussars, and as many Croats, who made themselves masters of the convent of Ranzhoffen ; but this could not be done till after midnight, so that the Bavarian cavalry, having again left Branau, passed, at eleven at night, by Ranzhoffen, towards Burghausen ; and the remainder of their troops continued shut up in Branau. The Bavarians lost many of their standards and all their cannon, having above 4,000 men killed or drowned, and 2,182 were taken prisoners ; among the former, were some officers of distinction ; and, among the latter, the Generals Minuzzi, Preising, Gabrieli, and other officers of rank : but the Austrians sustained only an inconsiderable loss, the dead and wounded together not exceeding

exceeding 100 men ; amongst which were two **CHAP.**
cornets, two lieutenants, and one ensign : the **II.**
prisoners were conducted into Upper Austria,
and the victorious army took possession of the **1743**
Bavarian camp.

DURING the action, General Brethach attacked, by order of Prince Charles, a castle called Stubenberg, where was a Bavarian garrison ; which, made an obstinate defence, but were obliged to surrender prisoners of war, upon the coming up of General Bernklau, who was returned from his expedition to Pfarkirchen.

THE Count de Luchesi was immediately dispatched, with advice of this memorable defeat, to her Hungarian majesty ; and she, in three days after, wrote a letter of thanks, conceived in the most obliging terms, to Count Khevenhuller, who had attended the army, and directed the whole operation ; for which he received the strongest assurances of the royal grace and favour of the Hungarian queen. After such a signal discomfiture, the remains of the Imperial army, then reduced to little more than 13,000 men, assembled at Munich, under Count Seckendorff ; and the desertion among the French was very considerable. Prince Charles, in returning from Branau, arrived at Eggenfelden ; where the French had a considerable quarter all the winter, by which they so miserably impoverished the country, that he found only thirty inhabitants alive ; for the French destroyed all the subsistence, in this unfortunate country, as want and distempers did most of the inhabitants. Marshal Khevenhuller now directed Prince Charles to improve all advantages, and pursue the French, who had garrisons in several parts of the electorate, with the greatest diligence : and his highness,

PART nefs, having received advice, from Tiefsbach, that

IV. a body of their troops, consisting of between five

and 6,000 men, were at Dingelsing, on the Iser;

1743- he detached General Daun, with a body of horse-

grenadiers and Croats, and some Haubitzers,

with orders to attack them, whilst his highness

followed with the rest of the army. General

Daun, upon his approach to the town, on the 2d

of May, summoned the French to surrender;

which they refusing, he fired upon the town with

his Haubitzers, and soon after several houses ap-

peared to be in flames; whereupon the grena-

diers, and Croats, scaled the town, and entered

it sword in hand. The French were in the ut-

most confusion, and retired with great precipita-

tion; but, before they could burn the bridge, up-

on the Iser, the Austrians found means to kill and

destroy about 700 of them, part by the sword,

and part by pushing them into the river; while

the remainder, retired to Landau and Decken-

dorf.

As soon as the Austrians had got possession of

Dingelsing, Prince Charles detached General

Daun, on the 3d of May, to Landshut, to attack

the French that were there; who had been aug-

mented by part of the garrison of Dingelsing.

The general was followed by his highness, at

three o'clock the next morning; upon whose

approach the French were summoned to surren-

der; and, on their refusal, the necessary prepa-

rations were made for attacking the place sword

in hand: but, while the petards were fixing, the

French suddenly set fire to the town, and retired

in confusion; burning the bridge in their re-

treat; but were so briskly pursued, that they lost

above 900 men, and 137 officers; the rest

escaping to Deckendorf. When the Austrians

entered

entered the town, they found only one house and the church standing, all the rest being consumed ; and the inhabitants were in such distress, that Prince Charles distributed necessaries to them, out of compassion for the miseries they had sustained by the French, who had plundered them for two days successively, and had not left the least thing of value in the town.

FROM Landshut, the Austrians marched to Ober-pherring, with an intention to approach the Danube, to keep that river clear, and preserve a communication with Prince Lobkowitz ; who continued in the Upper Palatinate with 20,000 men, to watch the motions of Marshal Broglio. On the 6th of May, the Austrians, under Prince Charles, arrived in the neighbourhood of Deckendorf ; a strong post, which was defended, by the Prince of Conti, with 6,000 men ; and where, during the winter, the French had made seven fortified redoubts with palisadoes, and erected new works about the town, which had before a double ditch and a wall : but, notwithstanding the strength of the place, Prince Charles was determined to attack it. His highness, having drawn near the Danube, and laid a bridge over it, at Nieder Altach, a detachment, of all the grenadiers of the first line, Waldeck's regiment of foot, a battalion of young Konigsegg's, Bathiani's regiment of dragoons, and 1,000 horse extraordinary, were ordered to the attack, under the command of General Brown : but they continued all that day in making fascines and proper dispositions ; and, on the 8th of May, they began to batter the redoubts with success. When a sufficient number of palisadoes were beaten down, eight companies of grenadiers were put in order to storm the redoubt on the right, under the di-

PART rection of General Mareschal, and commanded
IV. by Colonel Witt; nine companies were ordered,

1742. in like manner, to storm the redoubt on the left, under the direction of General Brown, and in presence of Marshal Khevenhuller. Just as the Austrians were commencing the attack, the French retired into two other redoubts, which they had behind; and were pursued thither with such speed, that they fled into the town, abandoning several well fortified posts. The Austrians brought their cannon over hills, seemingly impracticable, which gave them command, with their fire, of some regiments, that were posted in the plain, and covered by numbers of ditches, and other strong securities; but this corps was soon put into confusion, and obliged to retire, after the rest, who had forsaken the town, and retreated towards Marshal Broglio. The loss of the French amounted to about 500 killed and taken prisoners, besides a great number wounded, which they carried off: but the loss of the Austrians did not exceed 150 killed, and wounded: though the unfortunate town of Deckendorf, either by accident, or the cruelty of the French, was set on fire during the attack, by which, the greatest part of the town and suburbs were consumed and plundered. In the attack, some of the Austrians seized the baggage belonging to the Prince of Conti, which was generously restored, to him, by the young Prince of Lorrain.

To improve this victory, Prince Charles immediately detached General Baronai, with a body of hussars; who attacked the head of the bridge at Straubingen, and marched, from thence, to Stadamhoff; while Prince Charles, with the whole army, closely pursued the French, who flew every
where

where before him, running from post to post **CHAP.**
with the utmost precipitancy and consternation, **II.**
having the dismal spectacle to see their sick and
wounded obliged to travel, in the heat of the **1743.**
day, many of them dying upon the road, and
even those who were best off, being excessively
fatigued.

THE whole country of Bavaria, was now reduced to a very melancholy situation ; for, while the army under Prince Charles was so successful on the banks of the Inn, the Iser, and the Danube, another body of 10,000 Austrians, under the Prince de Lichtenstein, entered the electorate, by the passes of the Tyrolese ; and, having defeated the troops posted to guard them, made incursions through the open country, to the very gates of Munich. Count Seckendorf had assembled the Bavarian army, after their defeat at Limbach, near the walls of Munich ; but, as they consisted only of 13,000 men, their commander did not think proper to march in pursuit of the Austrians under the Prince de Lichtenstein ; because his highness could be immediately reinforced from the Austrian garrisons. Nothing could equal the distress of his Imperial majesty ; who was, at this time, in Munich, and saw the direful calamities in which his fatal attachment to France, had involved his patrimonial dominions. In vain this unfortunate monarch called upon Marshal Broglio to join Count Seckendorf, and venture a general battle, for the preservation of his hereditary dominions : his Imperial majesty, attended by the Marshals Seckendorf and Thoring, had an interview with the French marshal, at Vilshoven, but they were not able to bring him into their views ; the Imperial generals being for guarding the electorate, and especially

cially the capital ; but the French marshal, was, for keeping close to the Danube, as they might be in a situation of receiving the expected supplies from France, and securing a safe retreat, in case of any unsuccessful event, by means of Ingolstadt and Donawert ; which were well fortified, and provided with strong garrisons : and this conduct of Marshal Broglie, as it left the Austrians unmolested in their operations, so it obliged his Imperial majesty again to quit his capital, and fly for protection to Augsburg, an imperial city, in the circle of Suabia, on the borders of Bavaria, and thirty-three miles N. W. from Munich : while the Bavarian army was conducted by Count Seckendorf towards the Danube, Prince Lobkowitz, after clearing the Upper Palatinate, joined the main body of the Austrian army ; and Marshal Khévenhuller, having joined the Austrians, under the Prince de Lichtenstein, took possession of Munich.

MARSHAL BROGLIE, being joined at Ratibon by Count Saxe with 20,000 men, and finding that Prince Charles had been reinforced by Prince Lobkowitz, and continued his march towards them ; the marshal retired towards Kelheim, and from thence, without stopping, proceeded to Ingolstadt ; where he was joined, on the 12th of June, by the Bavarians under Count Seckendorf, and found himself at the head of 50,000 men. Though his army was little inferior to the Austrians, the French marshal, very cautiously declined an engagement ; which occasioned him to make many precipitate retreats, before the Austrians, whose hussars were continually at the heels of the French and Imperialists ; and, by their frequent skirmishes, cut off whole regiments, taking a considerable number of prisoners ;

soners; and the value of the baggage, of generals and officers, which fell into their hands, was estimated at 1,000,000 of florins. In the mean time, an Austrian detachment, under the Generals Palfi and Berenclau, attacked the town of Friedberg, seven miles from Augsberg; the garrison, consisting of two battalions of Bavarian guards, and 120 French, obtained the military honours, on condition of not bearing arms against the Queen of Hungary, or her allies, for a year: General Berenclau, marched from hence to Landsberg, a town situate on the river Lech, twenty-three miles south of Augsberg; and, after reducing that place, returned to the army.

PRINCE CHARLES, and Marshal Broglie, having assembled their whole force; a general battle was hourly expected: but the French marshal, having express orders to march with all imaginable diligence towards the Rhine, decamped privately from before Ingolstadt, and retired to Donawert; a town situate on the Danube, twenty-five miles west of Ingolstadt; where he was joined by Count Segur, with a detachment of 12,000 men, from the army, under Marshal Noailles, on the Rhine. When Marshal Broglie had received this reinforcement, his army consisted of 60,000 men, and was no way inferior to the forces under Prince Charles of Lorraine; but the marshal could not be drawn to hazard the fate of a decisive battle. The emperor was greatly concerned at this inactivity; he sent for Count Seckendorf to Augsberg; where a consultation was held, on the 23d of June, when it was resolved, to make a peremptory demand on Marshal Broglie, to know what assistance he would grant to the emperor: but the answer, of that general, was very dissatisfactory;

PART factory ; as he informed his Imperial majesty,

IV. “ That it was impossible for him to comply with

“ his requisitions ; because, he was expressly or-

1743- “ dered to march directly for the Rhine : and

“ acquainted the emperor, that his most Chris-

“ tian majesty, perceiving no likelihood of the

“ war being ended in Germany, as it was then

“ carried on, was not averse to his Imperial

“ majesty’s accommodating matters with the

“ Queen of Hungary, and obtaining for him-

“ self the best terms he was able ; notwithstanding

“ which, his most christian majesty, would

“ always shew himself a faithful friend and ally

“ to his Imperial majesty.” This decisive reply,

occasioned a council of state ; in which, the em-

peror took the resolution, of leaving Augs-

burg ; and returning to Francfort ; which he

executed, on the 26th of June : while Count

Seckendorf returned to the Imperial army ; and

immediately notified to Prince Charles, that he

had received commands, not to act offensively

against her Hungarian majesty ; but to put his

troops into winter quarters, in Suabia and Fran-

conia ; intimating, to his highness, that his Im-

perial majesty was willing to agree to a neutra-

lity : and indeed the emperor, when he first

perceived the inactivity of the French in rescu-

ing his electoral dominions, was determined to

solicit for a treaty of neutrality, which, he was

inclined to accept on any reasonable conditions,

and for which he had required the mediation

of his Britannic majesty, while he continued at

Herenhausen. In the mean time, Marshal Brog-

lio continued his retreat towards Hailbron, on

the Neckar, closely followed by the Austrian

hussars ; though he had left their main army at

a considerable distance.

WHILE

WHILE the Austrian arms were so successful in Bavaria; and Marshal Broglio was effecting his retreat towards the Rhine; the allied army, under Marshal Stair, continued in their camp at Hoechst, on the Maine: and the French army, under Marshal Noailles, remained in the Palatinate, on the banks of the Rhine. The army of the allies, at this camp, was generally computed to be 16,000 English, 16,000 Hanoverians, and 12,000 Austrians, in all 44,000 men; but, after deducting the dead, sick, and disabled, the whole number, of effective men, scarcely exceeded 37,000: whereas the French army, at first, consisted of 70,000 men; and, since the detachment of 12,000 sent under Count Segur to favour the retreat of Marshal Broglio, they amounted to 58,000 men. The French had extended themselves, along the Rhine; and made an attempt to surprize Hailbron, a well fortified town, on the Neckar, belonging to the Duke of Wirtemberg, in Suabia; but were defeated by the vigilance of the garrison: however, their main body made no attempt to pass the Rhine, till the 14th of May, when they crossed the river, at a village called Rhine Turckheim, about two leagues below worms; and marched towards the Maine, with a view to seize a rising ground, on the west side the river, that commanded Hoechst, and the army encamped in its neighbourhood: but this design had no other effect, than the loss of their men; for a great many deserters came in every day to the confederate army, passing the Maine, by boats, or, in some places, by fording; or swimming over; till after the 20th of May, when they had a convenience of passing over the two bridges, which were laid for the train of British artillery

PART to pass over, and encamp on the French side
IV. of the river.

THE French army were, at this time, en-
1743. camped, and entrenched, in the woods near Geraw, in the Landgraviate of Darmstadt, about five leagues, on the western side of the Maine, from Hoechst: Marshal Noailles frequently sent out parties of hussars, to reconnoitre the British lines, and observe the situation of the confederate camp; which they could do with much facility, from a hill on the right; or by riding on the banks; upon the opposite side of the Maine: besides, the French Marshal sent several trumpets to Marshal Stair, at Hoechst, with such messages, as sometimes could have no other meaning than to get an opportunity of any little intelligence.

MARSHAL STAIR, during these transactions, frequently summoned the principal confederate officers, to councils of war: his lordship had never entertained an extraordinary opinion of a French army; and, notwithstanding the superiority of Marshal Noailles, he had such confidence in the troops he commanded, that his lordship was desirous of nothing more than to encounter the French, and had little doubt of being successful. To this purpose, it was resolved, on the 29th of May, to pass the Maine, in the night, and march towards the French. This march began about midnight; when, the allied army, having passed the river, marched up the hills of Killersbach, at three o'clock in the morning, leaving that village on the left. On the top of these hills, the army was drawn up in line of battle; upon an open plain, bounded with thick woods in front, and, on the left flank; with the river Maine on the right flank,
and

and rear. The disposition was made as soon as it was day, on the 30th, and the army, being formed, remained in this situation till three in the afternoon; with a seeming, or rather pretended, expectation, of meeting the French: for the place was so strong, that a battle could not be imagined; there being only some narrow passages from the woods, through which the French must have marched, and even these passes were covered by some pieces of cannon. Therefore, the reasons of this march, could be no more, than to shew his lordships desire of approaching the French; and to try the spirit and inclination of the Allies: though, at the same time, it tended to disconcert the measures of the French, and prevent, at least for some time, the execution of their intended march, higher up the river: and his lordship had the pleasure to see the whole army full of spirit and resolution upon the occasion, and very ready to engage; on which the army returned to their camp, without any molestation; where they were no sooner arrived, than his lordship began to concert other measures: for he was opposed by all the foreign generals, because, some of them, thought it too great a risque, to venture so small an army to that of the French, which report had then magnified to 100,000 men; and others were desirous of deferring any probability of an action till the arrival of his Britannic majesty, which was then speedily expected: but his conduct of the British marshal, was vindicated, by the French declining the attack; and served to afford a remarkable instance of his superior judgment; and well-grounded intelligence. Though the behaviour of the Duke d'Aremberg, on this occasion, merits some observation: he, who owed, his reputation at court, and command

PART mand in the army, to the countenance and re-

IV. commendation of the British marshal, now used

the sinking credit of his benefactor, as a step to

1743. rise into the favour and confidence of his Britannic majesty; by opposing any resolution of attacking the French, till he saw the presence of a royal commander in the field. This view, dissolved all former obligations; broke that bond, which should so particularly unite the generals of an allied army; and, now, manifested itself publickly, by the Austrian general refusing to join his troops to the British forces, who were then drawn up in order of battle, in some expectation of the French, and by not complying till the British forces had been actually seven hours in the field.

It was generally apprehended, that Marshal Noailles had an intention of marching higher up the river, the better to secure the forage of the country: and the confederate army being at the same time in want of forage, a council of war was summoned on the 3d of June, in which this point was debated; and it was resolved to march higher up the river, to secure the navigation of the Upper Maine, and to draw supplies of forage, and provision, from Franconia: because such a motion would, at least prevent the like design of Marshal Noailles, or any other which might at that time be formed in favour of Marshal Broglie. Though several of the chief persons, who composed that council of war, were of a different opinion, the march was resolved on, and immediately put in execution. On the 4th of June, in pursuance of this resolution, a large detachment, composed of several corps, marched under the command of Lieutenant-General Clayton; and the next day, the main body of the army marched in two columns, for the advantage of the weather,

er, which was very warm, and the sake of ex-CHAP.
dition. Marshal Stair ordered that the march II.

ould begin about six o'clock in the evening ;
it; resolving to gain the bridge of Aschaff-1743.

rg, before the French ; and hoping to get a
y before them, he lengthened the marches,
such a manner, that the army had but little
st during three days. On the 7th of June, Mar-
al Stair gained his point, in securing the bridge ;
here he posted a strong guard : but his inten-
on was frustrated ; for, by means of the course of
e river, the confederate army being obliged to
ke the bow, and the French only the string,
eir march was so quick upon the Allies, that
ey gained the wood, near the bridge of Aschaf-
nberg the same day ; and encamped in it, un-
scovered by the confederates. The Allies, ha-
ng erected no magazines, could not proceed
y further without the certainty of distress,
om the want of forage and provisions, of which
ey were in such necessity, that they were obli-
ed to halt; till their scarcity was relieved from
ranchfort, which was twenty miles distant : and,
id not this been the case, it would have been
ry practicable to have secured the country far-
ter up the river ; for the Allies had from Aschaf-
nberg only the string, whereas the French
id a bow, of an extensive circumference, to
mplete before they could obtain it.

MARSHAL NOAILLES, who equally knew
e importance of possessing the posts up the
ver, made an early use of this misfortune of the
llies ; and with the utmost diligence, sent for-
ard a strong detachment ; who marched up to
liltenberg, a town of Franconia, on the south
le of the Maine, eighteen miles from Aschaff-
rg, and so on to Wertheim, where the river

Tauber makes its confluence with the Maine, by which the French secured a large tract of country, abounding with forage and all sorts of provisions, of which the Allies, at Aschaffenberg, were in the greatest necessity. Marshal Stair however maintained the bridge; and on the 8th of June, early in the morning, passed over it to reconnoitre the French, being escorted by a party of 300 horse, detached from the whole army. As soon as he came near the wood, where the French lay encamped, a party of hussars fired upon his lordship, from an ambuscade, who shot a ball through the brim of his hat, wounded his aid de camp, and killed three of the escort: at this time a peasant came and informed the marshal that the French army lay in the wood, just before him: this news obliged his lordship to retire; and it was with some difficulty that he escaped: for, on the fire of the French hussars, their whole army was marching to sustain them, though the detachment which escorted the British marshal, on the first appearance of the French, retreated with great irregularity and precipitation: but, as soon as they came near a small party of the British foot-guards, they halted, and facing about, found that the French had not pursued them; the reason of which probably was, that the hussars, perceiving a party of foot in an adjacent field of corn, imagined the reconnoitring party had retired in that precipitate manner, purposely to deceive and ensnare them. When the escort halted, Lieutenant-General Cope and Brigadier Bland, warmly upbraided them with the irregularity of their retreat, shewing them the great danger the marshal was exposed to, by their conduct, and the indignity which so ill a beginning would bring upon the army; by which the troops were made

made sensible of their mistake, and would have recovered their credit by advancing, a second time, towards the French.

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THE next day his Britannic majesty, attended by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, and Lord Carteret, arrived at Hanau in three days from Hanover, escorted by a party of 300 horse; and, after a short refreshment, proceeded for Aschaffenberg; where he was received with the most joyful acclamations by the army, which he reviewed the same afternoon; and, that evening, took up his quarters at the palace of Aschaffenberg, belonging to the elector of Mentz.

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THE two armies were encamped on the plains near the banks of the Maine, opposite to, and in sight of each other; with a ridge of hills, covered with woods, on the rear of each: the Allies being on the north, and the French on the south side of the river. The city of Aschaffenberg, is twenty miles east of Francfort, twelve miles east of the city of Hanau, and four miles east of the village of Dettingen. The Maine, in this part of the country, is about sixty yards over; and the country, along the river, as far as Dettingen, is pretty low and level, for about a league up; when it begins to be woody and mountainous. A mile below Aschaffenberg, the river Aschaff, descending from the hills, falls into the Maine; as does another rivulet just above Dettingen. Between the river Aschaff and Dettingen, lies the village of Klein Ostein, watered by a small brook: exactly opposite to this village, on the south side the Maine, lies Stockdadt: facing Dettingen, on the other side the river, is the village of Mainfling; and, a little lower down, the town of Seligenstadt; be-
longing

PART longing to the electorate of Triers. The south
IV. banks of the Maine, in all this space, are con-

1743. siderably higher than the opposite side ; where,
 towards Dettingen, even the level part of the
 ground is full of wood and morafs, to within a
 mile and half of the river. The allied army,
 who occupied the north fide of the Maine,
 extended their encampment from Afchaffenberg
 to Klein Oftein ; about two miles in length,
 inclining towards the mountains, at the diftance
 of two mufket fhot from the river : the right
 wing, compofed of the Austrians, being pofted
 at Klein Oftein ; the centre, being the Hano-
 verians, lay encamped, in two lines, between
 the Austrians and the river Afchaff ; and the
 left wing, confifting of the Britifh troops, poff-
 fefsed the city and neighbourhood of Afchaffen-
 berg. The French army extended on the fouth
 fide of the Maine, from near the bridge of
 Afchaffenberg, down the river, to Selingenftadt,
 their centre lying near Mainfling : and as Marfhal
 Noailles perceived that the confederates were in a
 dangerous fituation, he fecured the pofts of Wel-
 fheim, Selingenftadt and Steinheim, on the north
 fide of the Lower Maine ; as well as Neiderberg,
 Oberberg, Brieberg, Wurtzberg, Clingenberg,
 and Millenberg, on the Upper Maine ; by which
 the confederate army was cut off from any com-
 munication with the Austrian troops in Bavaria ;
 and, by this means, all the fubfiftence they could
 expect, either from Mentz, Franconia, or the
 neighbourhood of Wurtzberg, was entirely cut
 off ; which rendered their fituation extremely
 dangerous : becaufe the troops, on their arrival
 from a long and laborious march, finding no
 provifions, plundered the country for fubfiftence ;
 what they began through neceffity, they conti-
 nued

led through wantonness, ruining the neighbouring villages, and terrifying the distant: by which they deprived the markets of the advantages of all, and necessarily occasioned a general want; which was not remedied, till the arrival of his Britannic majesty; when a proclamation was read, at the head of each respective regiment, prohibiting the troops from marauding, under the pain of death. Though all acts of hostility were committed on both sides, during two or three days; yet the watering, at the river, being equally convenient to both armies, as well as a free passage for the boats with the pack, an order was published, in both camps, against any firing across the river; so that both armies lay, from that time, without the least interruption.

As the States General had now concurred in assisting the Queen of Hungary, the 6,000 Hessians, who had garrisoned the Austrian towns of Mons, Aeth, Charleroi, and St Guislani, were relieved by 6,000 Dutch; and, as Marshal Stair had declared, that his march into Germany, should not endanger the person of the emperor, the Hessians were now willing to join the Allies; and were ordered to proceed to Hanau for that purpose, as were also 6,000 Hanoverians, which his Britannic majesty furnished in his electoral capacity: these troops were now upon their route to reinforce the allied army, which on their arrival, would be little inferior to the French.

THE French, by their encampment lower down the river, and occupying the post at Selingenstadt, had the opportunity of intercepting the retreat of the Allies towards Francfort; and by their taking possession of Miltenberg, Wertheim, and other places up the Main, obstructed

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PART ed their passage into Franconia : besides, by the

IV. natural advantage of the ground, the French
 not only overlooked the confederate camp, but

1743. could command it by their batteries. While the
 Allies were in this disadvantageous situation, short
 of provisions, unable to procure forage, and al-
 most surrounded by the French ; couriers ar-
 rived from Prince Charles of Lorraine, with in-
 telligence of his successes in Bavaria ; and, at
 the same time, advice was brought that the
 6,000 Hanoverians and 6,000 Hessians had ef-
 fected a junction, and were, within two days
 march of Hanau, under the command of Prince
 George of Hesse Cassel, and General Druchle-
 ben, who wanted to know by what means they
 could conduct them to the confederates. As
 the French commanded the lower part of the
 river, it was apprehended, if the Prince of Hesse
 attempted to advance beyond Hanau, he must
 be intercepted ; and, as it was absolutely neces-
 sary to accomplish the junction, between him
 and the main body of the confederates, his Bri-
 tannic majesty took up a resolution of march-
 ing the army back again to Hanau, to join the
 Hanoverians and Hessians ; and sent orders to
 Prince George of Hesse to halt at that city,
 which belonged to his father, the brother of
 the King of Sweden.

MARSHAL NOAILLES was well apprized,
 both by his spies and his own observations, of
 the condition of the allied army, the circum-
 stances they were then in, and the immediate
 necessity there was of their returning to Hanau
 to join the Hanoverians and Hessians ; and, as
 it was a point of the most material importance,
 the French marshal was determined, if possible,
 to prevent it. Accordingly, on the 13th of
 June,

June, at night, a great part of the French army struck their tents, and, the next morning, were observed to be encamped further up in the woods: this was at first apprehended, by the Allies, to be only a feint of marching; but the design appeared afterwards, to be, for the sake of enlarging the space between their camp and the river, that the troops might, at the time intended, march out of their camp towards Dettingen and Aschaffenberg, with greater ease and security: the same evening, they set fire to great quantities of wood and straw; which still increased the suspicion, then prevailing among the Allies, of their having some design of a march: but, notwithstanding all the smoke, several of the French were discovered at work in making trenches; this contradicted the former opinion, and became new matter of conjecture. At the same time, and for several days preceding, parties of French hussars were sent out, who forded the river near Dettingen; and, by lurking in the woods, near the place of forage, so obstructed the way to it, and so much annoyed the foragers, that they several times returned to the camp without it: besides they frequently intercepted the boats from Hanau, from whence the allied army was furnished with bread; so that the cavalry of the confederates had nothing but green corn for a fortnight, of which they destroyed above twelve thousand acres; and the men had nothing but ammunition bread, and water, or sour wine, for a considerable time. But the French, under the cover and disguise of these commotions, effected a more material piece of service, by laying two bridges over the Maine, at Selingenstadt, a little below Dettingen, which was perceived by Colonel Montagu, who immediately

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PART diately informed his Britannic majesty of it, and
 IV. that many of the French squadrons had been
 seen in the neighbourhood of Dettingen: and,
 1743. about the same time, his majesty had certain intelligence that the French intended to pass the river at Aschaffenberg, so that an attack was not unexpected, nor was there any thing more wished for by his majesty, who waited only till the French should appear the aggressors, to take such measures as his natural courage prompted, and as the whole army desired.

HIS Britannic majesty, on the 15th of June, upon several motions which the French army made to their left, issued orders for the tents to be struck at gun fire, and the troops to remain under arms until break of day; and then, to march from the right, in two columns; the troops, in this march, taking the places assigned them in the line of battle, and the baggage to follow in the rear of the train of artillery: but, as his majesty was persuaded, that if the French attempted any thing, it would be on his rear-guard, he ordered the three battalions of English guards, and four of Lunenberg, with twenty-six squadrons of horse, under Lieutenant-General Ilton, with some artillery, to bring up the rear; and his majesty chose to be there in person, as it was expected to be the place of action.

MARSHAL NOAILLES, apprehending that the confederates would begin their march in the night, intended, with 30,000 of the prime of his army, to cross the Maine, at Selingenstadt, and intercept their junction with the Hanoverians and Hessians at Hanau: and, at the same time intended, to march 12,000 men, amongst which was an Irish brigade, towards Aschaffenberg;

arg; that, as soon as the confederate guard CHAP. II. 1743.
titted the bridge, they might take possession
it; by means of which, and the hill on the
ar, which would then fall into their hands,
ey might cut off any possibility of the Allies
reating that way: the marshal issued orders
r this purpose, and the necessary dispositions
re made with the utmost diligence: to which
e marshal was the more inclined, as he had
en pressed, on one side, by Marshal Broglio,
d, on the other, by the court of Versailles, to
something worthy the expectations of France;
d, besides the certainty of the Hanoverians
d Hessians being at Hanau, he had intelli-
nce, that General Nadaſti was coming from
waria with 2,500 hussars, and that General
renclau was to follow him with 12 or 15,000
en. The French, that evening, appeared to
without any particular design; and all was
iet in their camp; but their desire of being
ought so, was afterwards over-acted; for, the
ght no sooner approached, than almost every
nt throughout their camp was lighted; and
is was done, in so sudden and unusual a man-
r, that it by no means answered their inten-
n, of persuading the confederates, that they
re all at home. Their march, towards the
idges of Selingenſtadt, was begun very early;
d, the better to conceal it, they marched at
great a distance as was possible from the river,
der cover of the woods: the whole being con-
ſtited in a profound ſilence. It could not,
wever, be any longer concealed, when they
proached the river; for the night was not ſo
irk, but they were diſcovered there: and a re-
ort being brought to Lieutenant-Colonel Gee,
ho commanded a detachment of foot poſted
S f 2 beyond

PART beyond Dettingen. that a great number of

IV. them were already passed below, he was obliged to retire, with his party: and day-light

1743. no sooner appeared, than the confederates, beheld the opposite banks of the Maine, covered with French troops; some filing down by the side of the river towards Dettingen, and others as speedily towards Aschaffenberg, in the rear.

ABOUT four o'clock, the confederate army began their march towards Dettingen, in two columns; the British cavalry in front, followed by the Austrian; then the British foot, succeeded also by the Austrian in the centre; while the three battalions of English guards, four of Lunenburgers, and the Hanoverian cavalry, who formed the rear, made a counter-march, which, though accidental, had a very good effect: for the French; supposing it to be designed, totally laid aside the resolution they had taken of attacking the rear; notwithstanding they had sent a great body of their troops for that purpose to Aschaffenberg; who, as soon as the British troops had quitted the bridge, without blowing it up, marched over and entered the city, where they remained, without attempting any thing. About five o'clock, his Britannic majesty reviewed the rear guard; and, as the English guards, who covered the royal quarters, were in the rear, behind the artillery and baggage, when the march began; it was thought very inconvenient, and scarce practicable, for them to advance early enough to engage the French if they attacked in front, in the most dangerous station, which, as the most honourable, they were intitled to, by their rank: they were therefore ordered to a post, which it was highly probable, from all circumstances at
that

that juncture, would prove to be attended with **CHAP.**
the greatest danger, and of the utmost consequence to maintain ; as it was a hill, upon the right **II.**
flank of the line march, that commanded a secure, though narrow retreat ; which, after a tedious march, they got possession of, with the
four battalions of Lunenbergers, and the twenty-six squadrons of horse, under Lieutenant-General Ilton : and, there being only two narrow passes, or roads, the hills steep, covered with woods, and difficult of ascent ; the guards were posted on these roads, on the declivity of the hill ; where, in case of necessity, the retreat of his Britannic majesty was secured, by a body of men, upon whose valour and conduct there was the greatest dependance : nor was there the least imprudence, in posting this valuable body of men, so far from the scene of battle, not even if it was done entirely with an intent of securing a retreat for his majesty : for, if the person of a general officer be held in such estimation, that he is not always to be exposed to the danger with other men, of how much more consequence, was the sacred person of so brave and good a monarch ; upon whose preservation, the liberties of mankind, and the interest of so many nations then depended ? And England has not yet forgot the enormous sum, of 150,000 marks of silver, which she was obliged to pay, to Leopold Duke of Austria, so long ago as the year 1192, for the ransom of Richard Cœur de Lion. 1743.

IN the mean time Marshal Noailles had passed the river ; and joined the greatest part of his troops at Klein : but, after giving his orders to the Duke de Grammont, he repassed the Maine, that he might the better observe the disposition of both armies, and the direction of his cannon, from

PART from which he expected a terrible execution;

IV. having erected five batteries of artillery, at a considerable distance from each other, on the
 1743. opposite banks of the river, between Dettingen and Klein Ostein, which could easily change their ground as occasion required, or be relieved by others from the main body of their artillery, which then lay in the wood, at a little distance from the river.

THE French left their camp standing, and the rest of their army approached the river; so that the confederates were now persuaded that Marshal Noailles was putting his scheme in execution. About seven o'clock, the British cavalry, having passed a narrow bridge at Klein Ostein, and being too far advanced from the foot, received orders to halt there; and were drawn up, fronting the Maine, that the infantry might have time to come up, and room to pass by them. During this halt, the French infantry continued their march, on the opposite banks of the river; and many of their officers conversed with the British officers over the water, who, as they passed, paid and received the most complaisant marks of gentility. About this time, a battery of cannon, which the French had placed at a little chapel on the right of Stockdadt; begun to play upon the Hanoverian cavalry to draw an attention to that side, and was soon answered by the British artillery left in the rear, which was well served and did great execution: but, about nine o'clock, the rear of the French army, being past the first battery, next Aschaffenberg, they began to fire from thence; and this battery, being then opposite to the confederate baggage, soon put the persons about it into such confusion, that, turning
 ing

ing towards the woods, for security, several of CHAP. the carts were either taken or plundered, there, II. by the peasants. The fire from the first battery of the French, was soon followed by the rest; and the British train, being too far in the rear, was not able to answer them, as expeditiously as might have been wished: however, by the diligence of Colonel Pattison, three batteries were erected, and the cannon was soon after in readiness, and begun to play with such success, that, in a very short time, two of the French batteries were prevented from cannonading, and one of them was quickly dismounted. 1743.

WHEN this hostility begun, his Britannic majesty was towards the rear of the column of march, where the French ungenerously pointed all the cannon they could, knowing him to be in that quarter; but his majesty, immediately moved to the front, riding between the river, and the troops, who were greatly animated by his presence; and, every where, saluted him with the loudest acclamations of joy. Just as his majesty came up to the front of the army, they began to perceive a line of French infantry, and then a second, extending between the villages of Dettingen and Welsheim, towards the mountains, and two columns of horse, marching the same way: so that the front of the confederates, upon the halt, being to the river, the French army was upon their right flank, at less than the distance of a mile. The danger was visible and pressing; and his Britannic majesty, having given his commands to the Earl of Stair, his lordship gave orders for the army to be formed with all possible expedition. The Allied infantry, had now pass-
ed

PART ed the cavalry, and were formed into two such

IV. lines, as the nature of the ground would admit;

but, while they were forming the lines, some
 1743. detachments were ordered to take possession of the woods, which Marshal Neuperg thought by no means sufficient to secure them, and advised to march with the body of the army; apprehending they would be beat in detail: which advice appeared so highly reasonable, that it was immediately put in execution. The Earl of Stair, Marshal Neuperg, and the Duke d'Arcemberg, assisted with the utmost capacity, and the greatest activity, in forming the army, under the directions of his Britannic majesty, who shewed all the abilities of an experienced general; and exerted all that marshal vivacity, for which he was so eminently conspicuous, at the battle of Oudenarde, in 1708, when, in the prime of his age, he charged, sword in hand, at the head of a squadron of dragoons, in the most dangerous part of the battle; which, however, routed that part of the French army they engaged, and came off with distinguished proofs of their bravery.

Two lines of horse were immediately formed; and, with the infantry on the right, as fast as they arrived, were posted in the wood, with some battalions to secure their camp, and guard the baggage: the left wing, towards the Maine, was composed of British and Austrian foot, with four Hanoverian battalions; supported by two lines of horse: but the ground was so narrow, between the Maine and the mountains, as not to admit of any more than twenty-two, or twenty-three, battalions in front, with some squadrons of cavalry; so that, in some places, the third line of foot, was supported by two or three lines of horse.

horse. On the right of the army, at the entrance of the wood, the Hanoverians erected a battery; another was erected, by the English, at the left; and a third, by the Austrians, in the center. The French army was ranged, in order of battle, in a plain, behind the wood, where the right wing of the confederates was formed; their right wing was covered by the Maine, and supported by a battery, erected near Mainfling, on the opposite side of the river; the household troops made the center, supported by the infantry; and the left wing, extended itself towards the hills, having behind it the little rivulet and village of Dettingen: the whole army was drawn up in two lines, and an *arriere* guard, where the artillery was placed; the Duke de Chartres, and several other princes of the blood, being present.

THE cannonading across the river, continued above three hours; and as much execution was done, for the time, as was ever known in any battle before: but, though the ravage and destruction made amongst the troops was so considerable, yet, the ground, on the confederate side, being a light sand, and the bank rising towards the river, the loss on their part was much inferior to what Marshal Noailles expected; who, finding the British troops stood the shock of hisannon, without the least discomposure, or any other disorder than the slaughter necessarily occasioned, imagined that his guns were not in a due direction, or that there was some treachery in the engineers; chusing rather to ascribe it to any other cause, than the true one, which only was, the invincible courage of true Britons.

ABOUT twelve, every thing being ready, and the French advancing, the confederate army

PART marched up to meet them: the Lieutenant-

IV. Generals Clayton and Sommerfeldt, and his

— Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, who
1743. acted as major-general, were at the head of the

first line of foot: the Earl of Dunmore lieutenant-general, and the Earl of Rothes major-general, were at the head of the second line. The first line of horse was led on by General Honeywood, the Lieutenant-Generals Campbell, Legonier, and Baron de Couriere; and the Earl of Albemarle, as major-general: and the second line of horse was headed by the Lieutenant-Generals Cope and Hawley. The British life-guards were on the left, but his majesty posted himself, at the head of the British and Hanoverian infantry, on the right. Lieutenant-General Clayton, who commanded the British infantry, was upon the left of the front line, next the river; and there being only Bland's regiment of dragoons near him, and, at that time, a space between the left of these dragoons and the river, of 2 or 300 paces, he sent an aid de camp for horse to make good the vacancy, being so much outflanked by the French line; which was instantly sent, and the deficiency made up, by General Honeywood.

THE fire from all the batteries of the French, and particularly from those in the flank, on the other side the river, was prodigious; and the confederate artillery answered very briskly, though much inferior in quality and numbers. The Duke de Grammont, actuated by the young princes of the blood, who were confident of success, was so impatient to engage, that instead of being drawn up on the other side of the defile, with the village of Dettingen on their right, the wood on their left, and a morass in the center,

ter, they left these advantages; and having passed the defile, which was formed by a dry trench, over which there was but one small bridge, came up in order of battle, to the attack, on an accessible ground, where their whole front was exposed. The confederate lines halted half way to the French, to give the soldiers time to breath; and, having given a general huzza, marched on to the battle, with great alacrity. A large squadron of horse, that happened to be at the head of the French line of foot, upon the left of the confederate center, having kept that post while the Allies were advancing, provoked part of the front line to fire upon them: this occasioned all the line to fire too soon; however it was attended with no ill consequence; they loaded again in an instant, and advanced to the French, who were also moving forwards. The French household troops on their right, advanced upon the left of the confederates, and part of the French infantry, in the front line, began to fire; but with such disorder and irregularity, that it did little execution: upon which the fire, in a moment, became general upon the front of both armies. At this time, his Britannic majesty rode down the line, flourished his sword, and cried out, to the British infantry, "Now, boys! now, for the honour of England! fire, advance boldly, and the French will soon run." This greatly animated the troops; and his majesty continued in the front for a considerable time: but the Duke d'Arenberg, observing his situation, rode up to him, and desired him to remove out of the danger he was then eminently exposed to; when his majesty replied, "Don't

PART

IV.

1743.

“tell me of danger, I’ll be even with them:” but some other general officers soliciting his majesty to retire, he posted himself on the right wing; where, he no sooner arrived, than his horse startled at the disposal of the guns, and proved very untractable; on which his majesty alighted, and continued on foot, during the rest of the engagement: by which, and his heroic conduct, the troops were fired with emulation to deserve his applause.

THE confederate line were still advancing, and gaining ground; and the French giving way, in such a panic, that some of them quickly retreated, and got behind the horse; who continuing to advance on the confederates, their cavalry were loudly called for, and ordered to take up the ground, near the river, with all possible expedition, and make good the left: but, before they could come up, the French cavalry advanced very near: which Lieutenant-General Clayton perceiving, and apprehending those squadrons that were nearest the River to have some design of attacking in flank, he gave orders to the British brigade of infantry, which was nearest the river, and to Bland’s dragoons, to advance and meet them; which they accordingly did, and sustained the attack, with such firmness and resolution, that they, for some time, stopped the progress of the French: and the dragoons had been all cut to pieces, if a battalion of Austrians had not come up to their relief; who, posting themselves between the dragoons and the river, made several smart fires upon the French, with such success, as to bring off the dragoons, though not before they had sustained a considerable loss.

ABOUT

ABOUT this time, the black musqueteers, incited by a reward Marshal Noailles had offered for taking his Britannic majesty prisoner, desperately detached themselves from their line, passed between the two fires of the infantry, and came, full gallop, to attack Hawley's dragoons, the first confederate squadrons on the right; but met with a reception due to their temerity, which was immediately predicted by the experienced Marshal Neuperg, who cried out, "Now the British horse will attack, the infantry take them in flank, and their business is done;" which happened accordingly, for they were all cut to pieces, and their standard taken.

MARSHAL STAIR, perceiving the superiority of the French cavalry on the left, immediately ordered up Legonier's and the king's regiments of horse, to sustain and make good the left wing of the confederates: Legonier's regiment, being on the left, very gallantly charged the French household troops, and were as bravely received; but the French, being armed with breast-plates and helmets, of proof against pistol shot, and by the superiority of numbers obliged their opponents to retreat; and the king's regiment was also repulsed, though both the officers and men of these two regiments, and particularly Legonier's, without any exception, behaved with the greatest spirit and bravery.

THE confederate generals, finding their cavalry still born down by the French, ordered up the British regiment of horse-guards, blue, Rich's, Cope's, and two regiments of Austrian dragoons; who, passing through the intervals of the foot, went and attacked the French

French cavalry. General Honeywood put himself at the head of the British regiment of horse-guards; and advancing on a full gallop to charge the gens d'arms, they rode up with such impetuosity, that they were soon put in disorder and repulsed: this encouraged the gens d'arms, and they ran directly among the British infantry; who, let them in, flanked them, gave them their whole fire, and tore their horses to pieces; for the breast-plates of the men protected a great many from the shot: but this was soon discovered; and the British infantry, after killing the horses with their bayonets, beat out the brains of their riders with the butt-end of their muskets. The other regiments of the confederate cavalry attacked the French with abundance of resolution; but met with two repulses: however, rallying the third time, and returning to the charge, they obliged the French to give way, and repulsed their whole line of cavalry; who rallied and interlined with their foot.

THE first line of the confederate infantry, being the only one that was engaged; was drawn up in the following order: on the right of all, one brigade, of Austrians; on the right of the English brigade, Pulteney's; then Onslow's, Sowle's, Duroure's, and the Welch and Scotch fuzileers; and, on the left of all, Johnson's. These troops had already broke the two first lines of the French infantry, but remained in a proper disposition; and, after the repulse of the French cavalry, Marshal Stair came up to the head of the British brigade, and commended the behaviour of the whole line of foot, saying he would himself see them make the attack on the third line.

line of the French, who were then in beautiful order to oppose them: upon which they saluted him with three huzzas, and, advancing with the cavalry, were so well conducted, and behaved with such intrepidity, that they pressed so vigorously on the French, as obliged their whole line to give way, and put them in the greatest confusion: while the Hanoverian artillery completed the work; two of those pieces, laden with grape shot, being, at that juncture, brought down from the wood, and firing upon the French, flanked them severely; which, being continually repeated, greatly contributed to increase their disorder as they retreated.

CHAP. II.

1743.

MARSHAL NOAILLES, who continued at Stockstadt, when he understood that the Duke de Grammont had passed the defile, expressed a violent passion, saying, "He had ruined his whole scheme;" and, when he found the fatal event, resulting from the temerity of his officers, he passed over the Maine, to conduct their retreat in the best manner he was able; and found the remainder of his army had quitted the field of battle, passed the rivulet behind them, and posted themselves, in order of battle, upon an eminence, commanding the plain. But, notwithstanding this advantageous disposition, Lieutenant-General Campbell, with 3,000 horse, marched up towards them; on which they abandoned that post, retired to Welsheim, and at last retreated, in great disorder, towards Selingenstadt; where they repassed the Maine, with such precipitation and confusion, that several perished in the river, which they had so lately crossed with all the pride of victory.

THE French gave way soon after two o'clock; and whether they should be pursued, or not, became

PART became a matter of debate, some time, amongst
IV. the confederate generals. Marshal Stair was of

the former opinion, and observed, that the
 1743. French were in such terror and confusion, no
 resistance could have been made at the pas-
 sage: but those, who were of a contrary opini-
 on, argued the danger of the woods, where
 great bodies of the French might have been
 posted in ambuscade; and that the pursuit was
 neglected, seems to have been no ways impru-
 dent, as the French had 16,000 fresh troops a-
 bout their camp, and 12,000 at Aschaffenberg;
 who could have been easily assembled, and, by
 attacking the confederates, would have given
 their own disordered troops time to rally; when the
 Allies must have renewed the battle, under many
 disadvantages, and against a much superior number.

Thus ended this memorable engagement; in which the French lost about 6,000 men, either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners; and amongst them most of their generals and officers of distinction; as also six standards. The confederates lost about 2,500 men. The chief officers killed, among the Allies, were Lieutenant-General Clayton, who was shot, by a random ball, as the French were retreating; and Major-General Monroy, of the Hanoverians: among the wounded were the Duke of Cumberland, who behaved very gallantly, had a fine Turkish horse shot under him, and received a shot in the leg; the Duke d' Aremberg, the Earl of Albemarle, Major-General Huske, Colonel Legonier, and Colonel Piers. The principal officers among the slain, on the French side, were, the Major-General de Chabannes Mariolles; the Brigadier-Generals, Viscount de Coetlogen, Duke de Rochechouart, Marquis de Vandevil, and de War-
 geomont,

geomont, with Messieurs de Pinon, Langeris, CHAP.
Charpentier, Boisson, and Bonquoiran; and the II.
Colonels, the Marquis de Sabran, Monsieur de
Fleury, and Monsieur de Chavigney: among
the wounded, were, the Lieutenant-Generals
Count de la Motte, Houdoncourt, Duke de
Harcourt, Count d'Eu, de Cherisy, and the
Marquis de St Andre; the Major-Generals,
wounded, were, the Marquis de Montgibault,
Magnanes, Count de Beuvron, Duke of Bouff-
leurs, and Duke d'Ayen, eldest son of the
Marshal Noailles; the Brigadiers, wounded,
were, the Marquis de Gant, and Messieurs Des-
cayculs, D'Auger, Beaumont; and three colonels.

1743.
THE French marshal, after possessing the
post on the Upper Maine, intended, by this
march, to secure the pass at Dettingen; where-
by, the confederate army, surrounded in such a
situation, must, by the maintenance of that post,
have inevitably perished for want: and this was
a refined scheme, so artfully laid, that if it had
been equally conducted, it must have immortal-
ized his reputation; though the misconduct is
entirely to be attributed to the Duke de Gram-
mont, who had positive directions to fortify the
pass at Dettingen, and not to advance till fur-
ther orders: but is it not surprizing, that when
Marshal Noailles was sensible of so rash a pro-
ceeding, that he did not order a reinforcement
from his camp; especially as he had so much
cause for doing it, and knew that the confede-
rates were superior to the Duke de Grammont?

THE French cavalry, particularly the house-
hold troops, lost no reputation by their beha-
viour; but the infantry shewed as much remiss-
ness, and cowardice as can well be expressed;
especially the regiment of blue guards, who

PART made the best of their way, without firing a

IV. shot; and were afterwards distinguished, in their own army, by the title of canards du maine:

1743. a new regiment of walloons, commanded by the young Prince d' Aremberg, defeated three battalions of French successively; which was observed by his Britannic majesty who mentioned it to the Duke d' Aremberg, and was politely answered, "That they would behave better in a little time, for they copied after the British infantry." While the British troops, animated by the presence and courage of their sovereign; and their auxiliaries inspired by their example, behaved with surprizing bravery and regularity; and after repulsing the French, remained masters of the field of battle, which effected their design of marching to Hanau; all indelible marks of an absolute victory: but as they were, in such necessity for provisions and forage, they were obliged to abandon the field, and march, with the greatest expedition, to Hanau; besides a considerable part of the baggage had been plundered, during the engagement, so that most of the troops had neither victuals, drink, nor tents to lie in, after the work was done: though it seems highly inconsistent with the character of a victorious army, to march out of the field of battle, and leave their own wounded men to the mercy of a defeated enemy; which however was the behaviour of the confederates at Dettingen; who passed all the night, under arms, on the plain behind Dettingen; his Britannic majesty continuing in the field till ten o'clock; and afterwards took up his quarters at Hernstein. Unhappily for those who had the misfortune to lie wounded in the field of battle, during the night,

night, there fell an exceeding heavy shower of rain, which continued, without intermission, till eight o'clock in the morning; and occasioned a dreadful mortality, amongst the disabled wretches as lay weltering in their blood, on the naked soil, exposed to all the inclemency of the weather, who might have recovered, had they been attended with seasonable assistance.

THE same night, it was recommended, by Marshal Stair, to pursue the advantage, and attack Marshal Noailles, early in the morning: but this advice was rejected; and it was determined to march immediately for Hanau: on which the Earl of Stair sent a trumpet to Marshal Noailles, to acquaint him, "That his Britannic majesty, having thought proper to remove to Hanau, he had left an independent company in the field to take care of the wounded, who were strictly ordered to commit no hostilities; that therefore, the Marshal might send a Detachment to bury their slain; and hoped he would treat with humanity, those that were left behind." The French marshal immediately sent a party of horse from Aschaffenberg, who removed the wounded, of both their own and the confederate army, to their hospitals; where the latter had the greatest generosity shewn them by the French, being equally taken care of with their own men, and attended without any distinction. This gentility was returned, by the confederates, to such of the French officers and men as were taken prisoners; who were abundantly more than the confederates taken in the battle; but the neglect of their wounded, was also attended with this ill consequence, that since they were all made

PART prisoners of war to the French, it increased

IV. the cartel so much in their favour, that, upon the ballance, the confederates had very few to receive; and, as the French had the trouble of removing the wounded from the field of battle, on this occasion, they attributed to themselves the honour of an entire victory.

1743.

ON the 17th, being the day after the battle, the confederate army continued their march to Hanau; where they arrived in the afternoon, and were joined by the 6,000 Hessians and 6,000 Hanoverians; when the whole army consisted of 46,000 men, but was then 6,000 inferior to the French, who amounted to 52,000. A general thanksgiving was performed, on the 24th of June, by the whole confederate army, at Hanau, on account of the late battle; the French sung a general te deum on the same occasion; and, assembling all their forces, afterwards removed their camp to Offenbach, a town on the south side of the Maine, at an equal distance between Hanau and Francfort, and directly in the sight of the confederates.

WHILE the two armies continued in this situation, Prince Charles of Lorraine had accomplished his work in Bavaria, and obliged Marshal Broglio to retire before him through Suabia; who repassed the Rhine, on the borders of Alsace, with much precipitation: which occasioned the Austrian army to bend their course towards the confederates, with an intention to inclose Marshal Noailles between their two fires; and for this purpose, the Austrians, under Prince Charles, advanced to Heidelberg, the capital city of the Elector Palatine, situate on the Neckar, and forty three miles south of Francfort: but the French marshal

was

was not ignorant of his danger, and prudently prevented it, by decamping, on the 2d of July, at night, after setting fire to his magazines; and made so speedy a retreat, that, in four days, his whole army, after a march of forty miles, re-passed the Rhine, between Worms and Oppenheim, being then within thirty miles of the Austrian army at Heidelberg: Marshal Noailles afterwards continued his march into the territory of Alsace; where he took possession of the lines of Lauterberg, formerly cast up by the Germans, to defend their frontiers, before Landau fell into the hands of the French; without being pursued either by the confederates, or the Austrians under Prince Charles, who continued in the same situation at Hanau, and Heidelberg: though the former, when they perceived the French were retreating, sent a party of horse after them, towards Oppenheim; which took some of the baggage, and returned with the Prince of Craon's son prisoner, who lay indisposed at a village, by a wound he had received at the battle of Dettingen. However a cartel, for the exchange of prisoners was concluded, at Francfort, on the 18th of July, by the Earl of Albemarle and the Count de Chanclos, on the part of the confederates, with the Duke de Pecquigny and Count de Segur, on the part of the French.

WHEN the success of the confederates, at the battle of Dettingen, was known at Vienna, it caused the greatest acclamations; and when the news arrived at London, nothing could surpass the public rejoicings; but the confederate army was more highly elevated when they were informed of the successes of the Austrians in Bavaria, and the expulsion of Marshal Broglie out of Germany.

ON

PART

IV.

ON this occasion, Prince Charles of Lorraine, wrote a letter of congratulation to the Duke of Cumberland; wherein, he expressed a particular concern for the wound his Royal Highness had received in the action; saying, the glory that attended him, on this his first entrance into arms, would more than compensate that misfortune.

1743.

GRATITUDE is spontaneous to a great soul: the true hero takes as much pleasure in commending a glorious action, as in the participation of the victory: and on these principles, did the victorious Count Khevenhuller, and the gallant Prince Lobkowitz, write letters of congratulation to Marshal Stair, on his success at Dettingen. These letters were communicated by the British marshal, to some of his intimate friends; and, as they are full of the noble sentiments of their illustrious authors, they are highly meritorious of observation. The letter from Marshal Khevenhuller was addressed in the following manner. "MY LORD! All true lovers of liberty, which your Lordship hath always been so strenuous an assertor of, and for which our countrymen, the Germans, and the Britons, have lost so much blood and treasure, must be delighted at the glimmering prospect of having it restored to them, whole and entire, as it was delivered down to us by our ancestors. To make head against oppression, is one way to overthrow it; but the ally that suffers another to depend on its own strength, to carry on a war, which, in all probability, it must be unable to support alone, will find, in the end, that every blow which weakens the principal, must affect those who ought to have been adjutors. How then must all impartial Europeans, who have the cause of freedom at heart, look upon the proceedings

ceedings of some states, who, by their dilatori- CHAP.
ness and delays, have suffered the general cause II.
to be so much neglected, that, had not divine
providence seasonably interposed, the whole 1743.
rights of Europe must have been shook from
their basis?

It is impossible to express the pleasure and satisfaction that appeared in the face, and was diffused through the heart of every true German, upon his Britannic majesty's appearing in the field, in behalf of her Hungarian majesty. Nothing could add to that pleasure, but the confirmation we have received of the victory obtained over the French, in the first opening of your campaign. May God prosper all your attempts, and give never-failing success to your arms! I hope ours will shortly second you; and then, conjointly, we may be the better able to restore the ballance of Europe, according to the orders of our respective sovereigns, and to establish a firm and lasting peace.

If we do not make our own terms, when we have advantages, the haughty insolence of the French court will be forward enough, even were we to drive them to the gates of Paris, to exact submission, when we have it in our power to make our own proposals.

Your Lordship has experienced their arrogance, and resented it in a proper manner. I do not doubt the same spirit will animate you at the head of the confederates, as in a private dispute at the perfidious court of Versailles.

The rank my royal mistress has honoured me with, emboldens me to congratulate you on the action at Dettingen; where, according to our informations, you have, under his Britannic majesty, gained a complete victory. As a soldier,
I esteem

PART I esteem your conduct and intrepidity; and

IV. when I have the happiness of a nearer acquaintance, which I hope will not be long, I do not
 1743. doubt but I shall have sufficient reason to increase my admiration and regard.

YOUR troops are the only allies that have dared to take the field in behalf of injured royalty, and a queen, and people, who go to war only to defend their rights and privileges; those, therefore, who are backward in sending their forces to support an alliance formed upon the most honourable motives, and calculated to maintain a due equilibrium of power in Europe, must either be thus tardy, as it is evident they have been, through fear, or some other principle which would deserve a worse name: but that, I hope, though private men may be corrupted, all the members of a republic are not so base as to prostitute their honour, and betray their interests, for a few trivial present advantages.

BUT they cannot, sure, be thus slow in their proceedings through timidity. If our undisciplined armies, many of them taken raw from tillage, and ignorant of the art of war, have been able to make head against the best French generals and armies, what may we not hope now we are supported by his Britannic majesty in person, with so fine a body of troops, commanded by a general so brave and experienced as the Earl of Stair? — We have drove them from the Danube, and I make no doubt but, by the blessing of God, you will drive them from the Rhine. We know they are not to be dreaded. I have known it these two campaigns: and your Lordship has given them plain proof that the British troops are more than a match for them,
 since

since you have beat them with some thousands odds to you.”

CHAP.
II.

THE letter from Prince Lobkowitz was as follows; “MY LORD! Permit me, with the rest of the Austrians under my command, to pay my devoirs to your Excellency at this important crisis. The success of the arms of our good and generous British allies, will always afford us as much pleasure as of our own, not only as it will contribute towards restoring a general tranquility in Europe, but will very much advance the interest and cause of my royal mistress in particular. Her side has been shamefully deserted by some, who have particular obligations to her august family; and by nations and people, who have been protected in their distress by her imperial ancestors. Her illustrious consort hath been deprived of his heritage, by the machinations and intrigues of an all-grasping court, that foment feuds and misunderstandings throughout the whole world, that they may tyrannize over their neighbours.

THEIR pusillanimity has made them fly from even our Croats, Pandours and Waradins; but their treachery, when force failed, would have instigated the infidels, in breach of the most solemn treaties, to fall upon a country which must necessarily be defenceless on that side, because its inhabitants were employed in defending their sovereign, and their families, and all that was dear to them, against an enemy on this side, which had embroiled an empire wherein they had no manner of concern: but the Mahometan shewed more regard to his word than the Most Christian, and scorned to violate agreements that the latter made sport with.

PART. HEAVEN has prospered our attempts, and

IV. suffered us to shew mankind, how much more;
 1743. men fighting for their country, their liberties
 and birthrights, can do, than a sett of mercena-
 ries, who came only to pillage, plunder and
 destroy the country they pretended to protect.
 How different is the scene since Vienna was
 threatened with a siege, now Branau has surren-
 dered! The insulting foes, that used the Bava-
 rians and Bohemians, whom they came to serve,
 in a worse manner than they had it in their pow-
 er to use their declared enemies, retire precipi-
 tately, as not able to withstand the force of
 our arms. We drove them to you; you have
 bravely and generously acknowledged us, and
 defended our cause. Our united armies, I make
 not the least question, will make them glad, I
 mean the few that remain of them, to retire into
 their own country, and curse the ambitious
 schemes of their ministry.

It certainly must be deemed, both an ambi-
 tious, and tyrannical step in the French court,
 to influence an election that ought to be the most
 free in the world; as such, it must be considered
 as an arbitrary proceeding, and, in all future re-
 cords, must be branded with infamy: on the
 contrary, how amiable and humane must the
 conduct of his most Sacred Majesty the King of
 Great Britain appear, who nobly fulfilled his
 engagements, when all others declined, or shifted
 off, under frivolous pretences. I do not doubt
 but your Lordship will join with me, when I,
 in the sincerest manner, return thanks to the
 Almighty for protecting his sacred person from
 danger in the heat of the battle. I am sorry
 his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland
 has received any hurt. — But military honours
 are

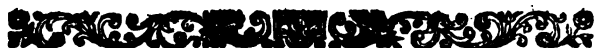
are gained by risking danger; and this, perhaps, is but the prelude of his one day commanding an army to obtain victory, when the fate of empires may depend on one decisive stroke. This comes pretty near it; and, under the auspices of his Britannic majesty, and the direction of your Lordship, what may not Europe expect from such a young prince?

CHAP.

II.

1743.

“We are now going to an attack, and believe we shall soon be able to clear the way, to reach the army of the Allies, when my heart, actions and sword, shall, more than my words, shew my sincerity.”



CHAPTER III.

The battle of CAMPO SANTO, between COUNT TRAUN and COUNT DE GAGES: the conduct of his SARDINIAN majesty; the first attempts, of the M^{AR}QUIS DE LA MINAS, to penetrate into PIEDMONT: and other transactions in ITALY.

THE Queen of Hungary was, now, every where successful: she was in full possession of her own dominions, and exercised a sovereign authority in Bavaria: the Emperor was sincerely disposed

CHAP.

III.

1743.

PART disposed for a peace ; France had evacuated all

IV. Germany, except a few garrisons, which were

— afterwards surrendered to the Austrians ; she justly
1743. feared the retaliation of those enormities she had

lately poured into Germany ; and, at this time, would have readily accepted of any moderate terms of pacification : but, to encrease the fear of the French, the King of Sardinia was still determined to oppose the march of the Spaniards, under Don Philip, into Italy ; while the Count de Gages was disconcerted, in all his projects, by the vigilance of Count Traun.

HIS Sardinian majesty, on the close of the last year, had been dispossessed of the whole duchy of Savoy ; when the Spanish Infant took up his winter residence, at Chamberry : while the King of Sardinia was obliged to retire into his Piedmontese dominions. During the severity of the winter, nothing was attempted by either party : in the spring, his Sardinian majesty had assembled an army of 40,000 men ; but, though he was greatly superior to the Spaniards, he continued inactive, nor so much as once attempted to expel the Spaniards out of his antient patrimonial dominion ; and the Spaniards, in Savoy, waited in expectation of a reinforcement from Catalonia, before they could be induced to penetrate further towards the Austrian inheritance.

BUT though the Spaniards were quiet on the side of Savoy, their late success, in acquiring the possession of that duchy, gave such sanguinary expectations, to the Spanish queen, of universal victories, that she prevailed on the uxorious monarch to send his general a peremptory command, immediately to attack the Austrians in the Ecclesiastical territory. At the conclusion of the preceding campaign, the
Spaniards,

Spaniards, under the Count de Gages, took CHAP. III.
up their winter quarters in the Bolognese and Romagna; and the Austrians and Piedmontese, under count Traun, spread themselves in the 1743-
Iodenesé and Parmesan. When the Duke de Montemar resigned his command, to the Count de Gages, the Spanish army consisted of 23,000 men; but, by the severity of a cold winter, to which the Spaniards are entirely unaccustomed, as also by quartering in a country almost exhausted of every necessary sustenance of life, added to the misfortune of having all their domestic supplies intercepted by the vigilance of the British cruisers, this army was reduced, in the space of four months, to no more than 28,000 men, capable of performing duty: while the Austrians, by taking possession of a plentiful country, and having been inured to the inclemency of a cold winter, sustained no other loss than the desertion of a body of 3,000 Croats, who, having served the limited time they had contracted for, continued, and returned home, without permission, leaving their commander at the head of 23,000 men.

THE Spanish monarch had received intelligence of the calamity of his troops; and, on the 12th of January, sent a letter to the Count de Gages, acquainting him, "That the reasons offered, in excuse for the inaction of his troops in Italy, were not satisfactory; therefore, his orders were, for the Count to pass the Panaro, in three days, and give the Austrians battle: directing him, if he had not spirit enough to execute this order, to resign the command of the army immediately to Count Mariani, for he would
" be

PART "be obeyed." This letter was received by

IV. the Spanish general at Bologna, on the 1st of February; who instantly communicated it to Count Mariani, and some other of the principal officers, in a council of war; when it was resolved, "Immediately to collect their

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"army, in that neighbourhood, with all the
"privacy that was possible, and suddenly to
"cross the Panaro, and surprize the Austrian
"general; whose troops were then dispersed in
"several places, and who, at that season
"of the year, could not be apprehensive of
"an attack." Accordingly the Spanish forces were assembled, with all imaginable expedition and secrecy, in the neighbourhood of Bologna; and, under pretence of a robbery, the Count de Gages caused the gates of the city to be shut till the 3d of February; when, in the evening, he gave a grand entertainment to the nobility, of both sexes, which concluded with a ball. During the continuance of the ball, it was remarked, about midnight, that the principal officers disappeared, one after the other; and, last of all, the Count: this was looked upon as the prelude to some extraordinary event, and gave the Marquis de Bavia, a suspicion of the real design; who, being a friend to the Austrian general, got one of his domestics over the city-wall, and sent him directly to give the alarm to Count Traun.

THE Spanish general, when he quitted the ball, had his soldiers under arms; and, following the example of Marshal Villars, immediately marched towards the Panaro, with so much celerity, that he passed the river on the 5th, about ten o'clock in the morning, in full confidence that he should surprize the
Austrians,

Austrians, in an unguarded manner, and obtain an easy conquest. His scheme was so well conducted, and so vigorously executed, that, in all probability, it must have succeeded; had it not been for the discovery of the Marquis de Bavia; whose domestic, on the preceding night, had given Count Traun his intelligence of this sudden march, and the surprize that was intended: whereupon, his excellency, in concert with Count d'Aprémont, the Sardinian general, caused nineteen estafettes and couriers on horseback, to be dispatched, the same night, by which means almost all the troops were collected together in time; and, the necessary preparations were taken to give the Spaniards an unexpected reception.

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COUNT de Gages, having passed the Panaro, and made himself master of Campo Santo, and Finale, continued his march; having detached 400 horse to Bondeno, from whence the Austrian garrison withdrew towards Revere, leaving 2,000 sacks of corn and meal, with the whole cloathing, arms, utensils, and equipage, of two regiments, to the Spaniards, who retired with the booty to Campo Santo; where the whole army remained, on advice that the Austrians were apprized of their design, and were approaching towards them. The Austrians, on the 7th, arrived at Buon Porto, in sight of the Spaniards, who continued under arms the whole day: but nothing was attempted, on either side, till the 8th at night; when Count de Gages offering battle, it was accepted by the Austrian general; who, by that time, had got together all his troops from the several garrisons, when his army consisted

PART consisted of 8,000 horse, and 15,000 foot : but

IV. the Spaniards were 10,000 horse, and 18,000 foot. The first attack began about eight in the evening, and lasted till eleven, with a continual fire of the artillery, from both sides, which did great execution. The moon shone with a great deal of brightness, and, the cannonading being then ended, the engagement with small arms began. Count de Gages had formed a design, of putting 2,000, chosen men, of his cavalry in the centre ; which, according to his plan, was to have broken through, and fallen upon the rear of the Austrians : but Count Traun, observing this, ordered his grenadiers, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Count Colorado, to face the Spanish horse in the centre, which prevented their original design : however the Duke d'Atrisco, with the Spanish carabiniers and dragoons of the queen, came up with the left wing of the Austrians, and entirely broke their cavalry : in the mean time, the left wing of the Spaniards, attacked the Austrians on the right, with extraordinary fury, but were repulsed ; and the Austrian grenadiers, in the centre, supporting their broken cavalry, gave them time to rally and retake their station. The Spaniards, now, bent all their force on the right wing of the Austrians : where, by favour of the moon, the engagement continued, with great heat and obstinacy on both sides, till two in the morning ; when, the Spaniards, being put into confusion, abandoned the field of battle ; and, in retreating to the Panaro, were closely pursued by the Austrians. The battle was fought with equal resolution and bravery ; Count Traun,

Traun, and Count de Gages, both acted as CHAP. became two experienced commanders; the III. former having two horses shot under him, and the latter exposing himself in the very thickest of the fire. Several officers of Distinction, among the Austrians, signalized their courage; particularly the brave Count de Beyerberg, a Lieutenant-General, who received several wounds at the beginning of the close engagement, which gave no check to his spirit; he fell furiously upon the Spaniards; but was thrown from his horse, by a wound in his head: yet, after coming to himself, he continued fighting, sword in hand, and killed several of the Spaniards; till, at last, being overpowered, he was taken prisoner, after receiving twenty-two dangerous wounds, and six of them mortal. Count d'Apremont, the Sardinian lieutenant-general, behaved with an heroic bravery, and after many proofs of his valour, was taken prisoner; as was also the Austrian Lieutenant-General Ciceri, who recovered, but Count de Beyerberg, and Count d'Apremont, afterwards died of their wounds. The Austrians and Piedmontese, had also 1,237 men killed, with the Colonels Tischerer and Toxat, Major Marz, and Count Senau de Prasenberg; 400 wounded; 222 private men, and six officers, besides the three generals taken prisoners, with the loss of some colours and four kettle-drums. The Spaniards had 3,057 men, and 140 officers, killed; the Duke d'Arcos, Count de Souze, Lieutenant-General Macdonald, Major-General Carvajal, and 2,120 private men wounded; 20 field officers, 200 captains and subalterns, and 800 private men taken prisoners.

AFTER the retreat of the Spaniards, Count Traun immediately caused te deum to be sung, in the field of battle; he then dispatched the Colonel Count d'Altheim, with the news of this defeat to Vienna; and returned to Buon Porto. The Spaniards repassed the Panaro, the same morning at break of day; and, having burnt the two bridges over the river, took their march towards St Giovanni; from whence they proceeded to Bologna: having lost an incredible number of men, in so short a march, by desertion: for the Spaniards knew, by retreating to Bologna, they must perish for want of subsistence; which occasioned so many, of both private men and officers, to repair to the Austrians, that Count Traun was able to compose a regiment of deserters; who afterwards were very serviceable in fighting against their countrymen.

COUNT DE GAGES, finding his army so greatly diminished since the battle, by sickness, death, and desertion, that it did not exceed 18,000 men; and though he had behind him but the melancholy prospect of an exhausted country, he was afraid of making a second attempt to force the Austrians out of the Modenese: and, to increase his anxiety, he received positive information, that Count Traun had been reinforced by 7,000 men; and that he was advancing into the Bolognese, at the head of 28,000 troops. Count de Gages could not think of defending himself in Bologna; and had warmly solicited his Sicilian majesty to assist him, with the Neapolitan forces: but his majesty answered, "That he did not see how any assistance, which he could be expected to give, would enable the Spaniards

“ ards to give Count Traun any opposition; CHAP.
“ whose army was every day increasing; alledg- III.
“ ing, that the British fleet, would, on such an 1743.
“ act of hostility, fall upon his coasts, or
“ bombard his capital; and that his troops,
“ while such danger was impending, were
“ necessary for the security of his own domi-
“ nions.” The king of the two Sicilies was
undoubtedly inclined to give assistance to the
Spaniards; but he was continually awed into
a neutrality by the proximity of the British
fleet; a part of which was vigilantly employed
in preventing any succours being sent to the
Spaniards by sea: however, the Queen of Spain
was so much offended, at the conduct of her
son, that, in the gust of her passion, she
threatened to degrade him of his dignity, and
hurl him, in her rage of disappointed ambition,
from the throne where she had seated him,
with so much difficulty and expence.

COUNT DE GAGES, during his continuance
at Bologna, saw his army daily diminishing,
by continued desertions, and sickness; insomuch,
that it was now reduced to only 12,000 men:
and, as Count Traun was advancing, he thought
it adviseable to decamp from Bologna; which
he did, on the 17th of March, with all ima-
ginable privacy; leaving behind him a great
number of sick and wounded: and, with
12 pieces of cannon, 30 waggons, and 282
mules laden with gun-powder, continued his
march, without any other obstacle than having
his rear-guard a little incommoded by the Austri-
an hussars, to Rimini; where, he fortified
himself in a camp very advantageously situated:
though his soldiers were so disanimated, with
the pursuit of the Austrians on one side, and

PART. the poverty of the country on the other, that
 IV. no less than 125 officers, and 2,000 private
 men, deserted to the Austrians in the march.

1743. Before Count de Gages retreated from Bologna, he wrote a letter, recommending his sick and wounded men, to the care of the Austrian general, who promised to treat them with every mark of humanity. The Spanish general continued at Rimini, without any further pursuit from the Austrians, till the month of September; which seems very extraordinary, and can be imputed to nothing else, but the attention of the court of Vienna to the negotiations then carrying on in Germany: though the Spaniards had no occasion of any other enemy to attend them, than hunger, and the want of every common benefit of nature, which reduced them to a most deplorable situation.

COUNT TRAUN, on his arrival at Bologna, wrote to Cardinal Alberoni and Cardinal Delci, the legates of the Bolognese and Ferrarese, to desire them, conformable to what was customary, and what was practised towards the Spaniards, to prepare the necessary provisions in the places which should be fixed upon, by the commissaries, for several thousand troops; which the service of the Queen of Hungary required to advance into the territories of their legations: and, though the country was already exhausted, yet the legates were obliged to a compliance, for fear the Austrians should follow the example of the Spaniards, and obtain their demands, if denied, by compulsion,

To aggravate the misery of the wretched remnant of the Spanish army, fifteen vessels, laden with ammunition and provisions for their use, were, in June, blocked up, in the port of Genoa,
 by

by two British men of war; where they were **CHAP.**
detained till August; when they made their es- **III.**
cape to Civita Vecchia, a seaport in the Ecclesi- **1743-**
astical State, thirty miles N. W. of Rome, and
the usual station for the galleys belonging to the
Pope; and demanded permission to land their
cargo. As it was a neutral port, this permission
could not be granted, without an authority from
the Pope; and the governor, having sent an ex-
press to Rome, concerning the affair, orders
were returned, for him to compel the Spanish
vessels to quit the coast: but, before the arrival
of the express, Count de Gages, who had intel-
ligence of the vessels being in the port, sent a
detachment of soldiers, who landed the stores,
and conducted them to Citta Castellana, a town
on the river Tiber, twenty-one miles from Rome.
However, before the vessels could leave the port,
five British men of war made their appearance,
and threatened to bombard the town, if the
Spanish vessels and cargo were not immediately
delivered up: this occasioned the governor to
dispatch a second courier to Rome; but, while
the Ecclesiastical court was in perplexity how to
behave, the Spanish vessels took the opportunity
of a favourable wind, and a dark night, to get
off unmolested. This increased the resentment
of the British commodore; and matters had
been carried to extremities, if an advice boat,
from Admiral Matthews, had not brought or-
ders for the Squadron to retire: which was owing
to the interposition of the King of Sardinia,
who undertook to procure satisfaction, from his
holiness, for this breach of neutrality: though
the British court was easily pacified, as it was
evident, that the Ecclesiastical State had been
already too much impoverished by the Spaniards,
to

PART to give them the least encouragement of conti-

IV. nuing there, which must necessarily bring the
 ~~~~~ Austrians after them, and encrease the poverty  
 1743. of the country.

**DURING** these transactions, in the Ecclesiastical territories; nothing memorable was attempted, either by the Marquis de la Minas, or the King of Sardinia, on the side of Piedmont: which was owing, on the one side, to the superiority of the Piedmontese army; and, on the other, to the policy of the Sardinian monarch: who, at this time, had every temptation thrown before him, by the courts of Versailles and Madrid, to reject his alliance with the Queen of Hungary; but his Sardinian majesty was willing to adhere to those engagements he had concluded with her Hungarian majesty, by the provisional convention concluded on the 1st of February 1742; though he was unwilling to exert the force of his arms, against the Spaniards, till he obtained the ratification of such concessions as he was promised both by the courts of London and Vienna: because, this prince had too much policy not to apprehend, that, if the Queen of Hungary should be entirely freed from any invasion of the Spaniards, before she had actually granted these concessions by a formal treaty, that it would be very difficult to get her to do it afterwards: besides, as his Imperial majesty had given public indications of his disposition for an amicable termination of his differences, the court of Turin was suspicious, that, if Germany was restored to tranquility, the Queen of Hungary could not be induced to purchase the alliance of his Sardinian majesty, on the terms he had exacted: therefore, this was another, and no less cogent, reason, for the present inactivity of the  
 Piedmon-

Piedmontese forces; because, if the face of affairs CHAP.  
had been diversified with this different aspect, III.  
the duchy of Savoy would have been readily re-  
delivered to the King of Sardinia, not only with 1743.  
an ample indemnification, but with the grant  
of those very concessions he had insisted upon  
from the Queen of Hungary; which, as they  
had been offered, so he had room to expect, for  
the purchase of his friendship, from the courts  
of Versailles and Madrid.

DURING the winter, the Spaniards, under  
the Marquis de la Minas, were diminished by  
above 8,000 men, and the army, in the spring,  
amounted to only 30,000; which obliged the  
court of Madrid to order six battalions of militia,  
and sixteen companies of grenadiers, to reinforce  
the army in Savoy: these troops began their  
march, from Catalonia, on the 2d of April,  
but the first battalion mutinied, on the march,  
fixed their bayonets, and refused to carry arms  
out of the kingdom; alledging, it was contrary  
to their engagements; and above 400 of them  
returned home, in defiance of the government,  
with drums beating, and colours flying: on  
which, Don Emanuel Pontius de Leon, who  
was ordered to assemble this body of militia, de-  
sired to be excused from performing his office;  
as he could not execute it without hazarding his  
life; for that neither menaces nor entreaties  
could appease the mutiny; and, when in pur-  
suit of the deserters, his horse was shot under  
him twice. However the other part of the  
troops, consisting of 6,000 men, continued their  
march, and arrived at Chamberry.

ON receiving this reinforcement, the Mar-  
quis de la Minas, advanced to the borders of  
Piedmont;

360 *The Conduct of the Powers of Europe,*

**PART** Piedmont; and, on the 19th of May, detached

**IV.** a body of 400 miquelets, to attack the fort La Tuile, on the borders of the Val d'Aouft, the northern part of the Piedmontese, with an intention to penetrate, through that principality, into the Milanese: but Baron Lornay, who commanded the Piedmontese troops in those parts, sent six companies of grenadiers to oppose them; who killed 120 of the miquelets, and put the remainder to flight, with the loss of twenty-five men only. Another body of 800 miquelets, endeavoured, the next day, to make their way at Genis; but were repulsed, by the militia, with the loss of 100 men. The Spaniards still attempted to force a passage into Piedmont, and were still repulsed, where-ever they endeavoured it: but the King of Sardinia, though his army was superior to the Spaniards, did not endeavour to dislodge them; suffering the Spanish troops to ravage his dominions, rather than hazard the fate of a battle; though, if unsuccessful, he was certain of securing a retreat: however, in June, his majesty, in order to remove all suspicions about his designs, recalled his troops from the garrison of Novarra, in the Milanese, to strengthen his army in Piedmont; and caused it to be notified, at several courts, "That the

1743. "report of his treating with the King of Spain was void of all foundation; and so far from it, that his majesty had issued letters of array, by which all the nobility of Piedmont were required to attend him, at a day assigned, to march into Savoy:" this conduct was entirely owing, to the prospect, his majesty had, of the conclusion of a treaty with his Britannic majesty and the Queen of Hungary; whereby all his demands

demands were to be adjusted to his satisfaction: CHAP.  
but his Sardinian majesty never attempted to III.  
dispossess the Spaniards, till after the execution  
of the treaty, which was concluded, at Worms, 1743.  
on the 2d of September following.



## CHAPTER IV.

Incidental transactions since the commencement of the campaign. The negotiations at HANAU. The interview between PRINCE CHARLES and MARSHAL KHEVENHULLER, with his BRITANNIC MAJESTY. The conduct of the KING OF SARDINIA; the treaty of WORMS; reflections on the cession of FINAL. The conduct of the KING OF PRUSSIA, the QUEEN OF HUNGARY, the STATES GENERAL, and the court of VERSAILLES.

**W**HILE the French and Bavarians, were, CHAP.  
every where, obliged to give way, to IV.  
the superior fortune attendant on the Austrian  
arms; the Queen of Hungary, accompanied 1743.  
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**PART** by the Grand Duke, her husband, set out from

**IV.** Vienna, on the 25th of April, for Prague;

where she arrived on the 30th, with an intention to ascend the Bohemian throne, from whence she had been so long ejected, when she saw the crown of her ancestors forcibly wrested from her subjects, and placed on the head of an usurper. Her majesty made a magnificent public entry, and received the compliments of the nobility and magistrates, which she answered in Latin: the burghers made a splendid appearance; and a fine firework was played off, on the Moldau, at night. The queen immediately inclined her royal care and attention, for exonerating any public grievances, on a people so greatly impoverished, by the calamities of war; and, to prevent any superfluous expences on the occasion of her coronation, she prudently issued out an order, "That no gold or silver lace, or embroidery, should be worn, in cloaths, or furniture; nor any new liveries made:" she also strictly prohibited the importation of all French commodities, under the penalty of confiscation, and a heavy fine. On the 12th of May, the ceremony of her inauguration was performed, in the cathedral of Prague; the Bishop of Olmutz officiating, in the room of the Archbishop of Prague, who was in disgrace, for abetting the designs of the French, while they were in possession of the city: but a herald, in behalf of the Emperor, and another in behalf of the King of Spain, protested against the legality of the coronation. The next day, being the anniversary of her majesty's birth, was celebrated with extraordinary rejoicings; which were increased by an instance she gave of her generosity and clemency, to the prisoners in Prague: those confined

confined for debt, she discharged by satisfying CHAP. IV.  
their creditors; those condemned for less heinous offences, she pardoned and restored to their liberty; and she mitigated the sentence of the capital offenders, according to the nature of their crimes. Her majesty, having thus by her presence and goodness conciliated the affections of her Bohemian subjects, left Prague, on the 16th of June, and set out for Lintz, the capital of Upper Austria; where, on the 25th, she received the homage of the States of that Province, with the greatest marks of loyalty and affection. In the midst of these solemnities, her majesty received the important news, from the Maine, that the King of Great Britain, her faithful ally, had, on that side, too, defeated the invaders of nations; and, on the 4th of July, she returned to Vienna.

ON account of her Hungarian majesty receiving the willing homage of her subjects at Lintz, a protest against it, signed at Augsberg on the 16th of June, was published by the Count de Montijo, ambassador extraordinary from the King of Spain to his Imperial majesty; which was neither more nor less, than, a scheme for propagating confusion, till such times as the house of Bourbon was in possession of universal monarchy: for, by this protest, his Catholic majesty, in the first place, intimated, that he had a claim to Silesia; he next set out his title to the entire succession of the late Emperor Charles VI; and afterwards gave the same over again by retail, challenging, first, the kingdom of Hungary, then Bohemia, and lastly the dukedoms of Austria, and all the pragmatic inheritance. From the manner in which this protest was worded, nothing could be more  
Z z 2 evident,

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PART evident, than, that it was a perpetual and inde-

IV. feasible claim; from which, whatever might be  
 done in words, his Catholic majesty, and his  
 1743. successors, never could or would depart; but,  
 whenever the disturbances of Europe should af-  
 ford them an opportunity, would be continually  
 asserting these rights, and endeavouring, some-  
 times by force of arms, and at others by the  
 arts of negotiation, to gain possession. This  
 Spanish protest is the best key to the scheme of  
 the French; it plainly evinces, by the deduc-  
 tion of facts, that the conduct of France was  
 governed entirely by Machiavelian maxims,  
 without the least regard to religion, justice, or  
 honour: for here she set up two competitors  
 against the Queen of Hungary, professing that  
 she was bound by treaties to support both; though  
 their claims were as destructive of each other, as  
 of the rights of the Queen of Hungary. When  
 there was a probability of the Emperor arriving,  
 to that goal of ambition, which providence had  
 lately removed out of his reach, all the forces  
 of France were poured into Germany; but when  
 the prospect ceased of carrying her point, then  
 France put on another countenance; and, after  
 ruining the electorate of Bavaria, and plunging  
 the Emperor beneath the most onerous calami-  
 ties, advised him to extricate himself, by a pa-  
 cific conduct, out of those difficulties, it was  
 found impossible to relieve him by the armies of  
 France: while France applied all her views to  
 Italy, and brought out this declaration in favour  
 of the other pretender, whose right she now  
 undertook to maintain. For though the court  
 of Versailles would have imposed it on the world,  
 as a mark of their moderation, by consenting  
 to a treaty in Germany on the *uti possidetis*; this

was

was a step full of policy and ambiguity: for CHAP. IV.  
they only intended that the war should end in Germany, without terminating the dispute in Italy; where France had another pretended heir to the Austrian succession. The Infant Don Philip, though married to one of the daughters of France, was one year suffered to be beat out of Savoy, and to starve in it the next; while armies and subsidies were thrown away in favour of the Emperor: but when France found her incapacity to support the Bavarian pretensions, she determined to send an army to the assistance of Don Philip, and leave the Emperor to disentangle himself, as well as he could, from the labyrinth in which he was involved, by implicitly following the steps directed to be taken by the ministry of Versailles. Was not this palpably inconsistent? If France thought the house of Bavaria had any right to the Austrian inheritance, how came she to abet this claim of his Catholic majesty? If she thought there was any justice in the Spanish claim, how came she to slaughter her troops in endeavouring to set up another? And this procedure did not fail to open the eyes of the Emperor; who, thus, in the day of his distress, found himself deceived, insulted, and abandoned, to the resentment of the Queen of Hungary; whose favour he was determined to solicit, and procure, upon any reasonable terms.

THE approach of the British and other confederate troops, into Germany, proved highly advantageous to the interest of her Hungarian majesty, by the chapter of Mentz nominating, on the 23d of April, John Frederick, Count d'Ostein to succeed the late archbishop in the electorate; which was an important



PART important step, as this nobleman was strongly  
 IV. attached to the Austrian interest; and, after  
 his promotion, ever manifested his regard to  
 1743. the service of the Queen of Hungary.

THE Emperor, wearied out with a destructive war, relenting for the calamities he had brought upon his electoral subjects; deprived of the means of supporting his Imperial dignity; and, though graced with the most pompous and resplendent titles, finding himself without an inch of territory, was sincerely disposed to affect an accomodation with the Queen of Hungary: from the inactivity of Marshal Broglio, his Imperial majesty had long suspected the integrity of the French; and, so early as the 28th of May, and the 2d of June, he had requested Prince William of Hesse Cassel to employ his good offices for obtaining the restoration of tranquility to the Empire; declaring, at the same time, that he left his affairs wholly to the prince, intreating only that the conditions might not be prejudicial to his honour and dignity, whatever they might be to his interest. Prince William was brother to the King of Sweden, Vice-Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and Earl of Hanau; and was a proper person to merit both the confidence of the Emperor and the King of Great Britain: because, as his royal brother of Sweden had entrusted him with the regency of his hereditary dominions, this, gave him importance enough, as so considerable a member of the Empire, to be relied on by the Emperor; and, as his eldest son, Prince Frederic, apparent heir to the King of Sweden, had married the Princess Mary, the fourth daughter of his Britannic majesty, this alliance sufficiently recommended him to the regard of that monarch.

THE

THE prince of Hesse, after the arrival of CHAP. IV.  
his Britannic majesty at Aschaffenberg, on the 9th of June, wrote to Lord Carteret, and declared to him, in the name of the Emperor, 1743.  
“ That this monarch was willing to be reconciled with the Queen of Hungary; and, preferring, as the true father of his country, the felicity of the Empire to his private interest, would give up his rights, and send back the French troops, upon condition that Bavaria should be restored.” But Lord Carteret observed, in answer to Prince William, “ That his Britannic majesty was very much obliged to him, for his good endeavours to put an end to the war: that the king would be extremely desirous of contributing to this salutary end, and of doing every thing which might be to the satisfaction of his Imperial majesty; but, that he himself, Lord Carteret, could not presume to promise, that the Court of Vienna would, previously, restore Bavaria; and, that in the mean time, it were to be wished, his Imperial majesty, to be nearer at hand, would please to return to Francfort:” which he immediately did, in expectation of obtaining a reconciliation through the interest of the British king.

HIS Imperial majesty, in his way from Augsberg to Francfort, a few days preceeding the battle of Dettingen, arrived at the French camp; where Marshal Noailles took an opportunity of shewing him the dangerous situation of the confederate army, and the difficulty they would have to escape. This gave new hopes to the dejected Emperor, who expected to hear of the Allies being totally defeated; but, finding the

PART the event of that day, so contrary to his ex-  
 IV. pectations, and so destructive to his interest,

he seriously applied himself to a pursuit of those  
 1743. pacific measures, he had lately recommended  
 to the care of his Britannic majesty.

ACCORDINGLY his Imperial majesty, on his  
 arrival at Francfort, finding he could expect  
 no other assistance from the French, imme-  
 diately ordered Marshal Seckendorff to enter  
 into a treaty of neutrality with Prince Charles  
 of Lorrain. The Bavarian marshal had before  
 given information, to his highness, that the  
 electoral troops were ordered to act only  
 defensively; and he found little obstruction  
 in executing the orders of his Imperial ma-  
 jesty: for, on the 26th of June, he had  
 an interview with Marshal Khevenhuller, at  
 the convent of Lower-Sconfield, near Rain,  
 where a cessation of arms was concluded; and,  
 on the 30th of June, a capitulation was made  
 for the evacuation of Brannau, whereby it was  
 expressly stipulated, " THAT the garrison, and  
 " particularly the officers, should retire with  
 " their equipages, and the common soldiers  
 " with their knapsacks, but without swords  
 " or muskets: THAT they should first be  
 " reviewed, and then be distributed into the  
 " districts of Bavaria, and the Upper Palati-  
 " nate, during a year and a day: THAT  
 " they should be maintained there at the  
 " expence of the country, upon condition  
 " of not engaging in any military service  
 " during that time: THAT, in like manner,  
 " the superior officers, and the members of the  
 " state-major, should be allowed to return freely  
 " to their respective homes, with their baggage,  
 " giving their parole not to serve against the  
 " Queen

“ Queen of Hungary during a year and a CHAP.  
“ day :” and accordingly the garrison, consist- IV.  
ing of 6,000 men, were distributed up and  
down the country, particularly in Munich, 1743.  
Wasserberg, Straubingen, and Berghausen.

IN the mean time, Prince William of Hesse very strenuously recommended the interest of his Imperial majesty to the King of Great Britain ; and, after some propositions and replies, between his highness and Lord Carteret, they proceeded to more extensive conferences : and, Prince William, being then vested with full powers, on the 3d of July, carried the following propositions to his Britannic majesty at Hanau.

1st “ THAT his Imperial majesty would  
“ dismiss the French auxiliary troops, in con-  
“ sequence of which, he only intreated ;

2dly “ THAT, at the same time those troops  
“ evacuated the Empire, the Austrians should  
“ evacuate the Upper Palatinate, Bavaria, and  
“ his other hereditary dominions, which should  
“ be restored to him.

3dly “ THAT, as the territories of his Im-  
“ perial majesty were ruined by the war,  
“ some expedient should be found of procuring  
“ him a monthly subsidy, for the support of  
“ his dignity, and the maintenance of his  
“ army ; till, by the good offices of the me-  
“ diatorial powers, his affairs were put in a  
“ settled condition.

4thly “ THAT the Emperor would leave to  
“ his Britannic majesty, and the Imperial diet,  
“ the care of regulating his claims to the  
“ succession of the house of Austria, and pro-  
“ curing a general peace.

5thly “ THAT a general amnesty be agreed  
VOL. II. A a a “ upon

PART " upon on both sides, and the prisoners of  
IV. " war to be reciprocally exchanged."

IN answer to these proposals, Lord Carteret,  
1743. by a letter, dated the 7th of July, informed  
his highness, in the name of his Britannic  
majesty; " That the king was highly obliged  
" to the prince for the propositions he had  
" communicated, and equally desirous of seeing  
" a general peace restored, and to give the  
" Emperor the greatest marks of his friendship;  
" but that he was bound, by treaty, to act  
" in concert with the Queen of Hungary.  
" That this princess, in the mean time, did  
" not seem averse to a reconciliation with the  
" Emperor provided he would previously cause  
" the French troops to evacuate Germany.  
" Yet, that his lordship durst not venture, for  
" fear of abusing the confidence of his highness,  
" to promise the restitution of Bavaria, and the  
" Upper Palatinate. All that he had power to  
" say, was, that his Britannic majesty, would do  
" all in his power to obtain the Emperor satisfac-  
" tion, as soon as the French troops had evacu-  
" ated the Empire." Though this answer was  
far from being satisfactory, the Emperor, by  
Prince William, expressed " His acknowledg-  
" ment for the kind intentions of his Britanni-  
" majesty, in his favour; but hoped that the  
" dismissal of the auxiliary troops, granted  
" him by France, would not be insisted on,  
" till something was determined with regard  
" to his propositions. At least his Imperial  
" majesty expected, that the sending away the  
" French troops out of Germany, and the  
" restitution of his hereditary countries, should  
" go hand in hand." At last, after many  
conferences, a plan for an accommodation was  
agreed

agreed on; and the following preliminary articles were drawn up, and settled, between Prince William and Lord Carteret.

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IV.

1st " THAT the Emperor should dismiss the French troops, and engage they should evacuate Germany. 1743.

2dly " THAT he would, without delay, in conjunction with his Britannic majesty, form a confederacy between the States of the Empire, and the maritime powers, for the public good, in order to engage France to consent to a solid and durable peace.

3dly " THAT, as by this step, his Imperial majesty forfeited all his hopes of succour and support from France, and his patrimonial states being so consumed and impoverished, by the war, as not to furnish him a revenue adequate to his quality; a monthly subsidy should be allowed him, to commence a month after signing of the treaty, and be continued, till a method could be found of concerting, with the States of the Empire, the means of making a provision for their head, suitable to his rank and dignity.

4thly " THAT, as the Queen of Hungary could not be brought to consent to restore Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate, till she was satisfied with regard to his pretensions on the Austrian succession; his Imperial majesty agreed to renounce, for himself, and his successors, all claims on this head.

5thly " THAT, as soon as this act of renunciation was solemnly passed, the Queen should restore the Emperor to all his hereditary dominions, without exception or delay.

6thly " THAT the Queen should acknowledge the Emperor, in quality of head and

PART

IV.

}

1743.

“ chief of the Empire ; and, in return, his  
 “ Imperial majesty should own her as Queen of  
 “ Hungary and Bohemia ; and use his interest,  
 “ with the States of the Empire, to revive the  
 “ vote for Bohemia in the electoral college, sus-  
 “ pended at the last diet of election.

7thly “ THAT, the better to establish a so-  
 “ lid peace, a general amnesty should be pro-  
 “ claimed on both sides ; all confiscations and  
 “ sequestrations annulled ; and all hostages and  
 “ prisoners of war released.”

THESE articles were so agreeable to both the  
 negotiators, and thought to be so effectually  
 settled, that the next day was appointed for the  
 execution of them ; but, till they could be com-  
 municated to the courts of London and Vienna,  
 the following separate article was agreed on,  
 “ That his Imperial majesty, in agreeing to the  
 “ foregoing articles, as the basis of an accom-  
 “ modation between him and the Queen of  
 “ Hungary, depended on his Britannic majesty  
 “ for their being faithfully executed : and, as he  
 “ put an entire confidence in him, the King, in  
 “ return, promised to serve him with all his in-  
 “ terest ; and engaged to procure him further ad-  
 “ vantages. In earnest of which he was willing  
 “ to advance the Emperor immediately 300,000  
 “ crowns, of which 100,000 were to be paid  
 “ on signing this act, and the remainder in  
 “ two equal payments of twenty and forty days.  
 “ His Britannic majesty also promised to use  
 “ his good offices, with the Queen of Hungary,  
 “ that the electoral dominions of Bavaria should  
 “ be favourably treated.”

BUT Lord Carteret, on reflection, was cau-  
 tious of executing these preliminaries, without  
 the approbation of the lords of the regency in  
 England ;

England: therefore, on the 16th of June, in-CHAP.  
stead of signing the articles, as was fully ex-IV.

pected, the British minister sent Prince William  
the following declaration; “ That his Britan- 1743.  
“ nic majesty, though he entirely approved of  
“ both the preliminary and separate articles,  
“ would not determine on the signing of them,  
“ till he had caused them to be communicated  
“ at London, and could know how far the re-  
“ gency would approve them, as the basis of  
“ an accommodation, in order for him to be  
“ certain, that the parliament would have no  
“ objection to it, nor to the subsidy which was  
“ to be paid his Imperial majesty; that he was  
“ unwilling to abuse the confidence of the Em-  
“ peror, so far as to engage for what perhaps  
“ he might be unable to perform. That his  
“ majesty did not doubt but the project would  
“ gain the approbation of the British regency;  
“ in which case, the signing would only be re-  
“ tardated for fifteen days. In the mean time,  
“ as a proof of his friendship, the King was  
“ willing to pay the first sum of 100,000 crowns,  
“ which should be reckoned as nothing in case  
“ the project was disapproved in England,  
“ otherwise it should be deducted from the  
“ 300,000 crowns stipulated by the separate  
“ article.”

THE Prince of Hesse, who was impatient for  
the execution of the treaty, when he found Lord  
Carteret desired fourteen days time to send a  
courier into England for the approbation of the  
lords justices, not only looked on this delay as  
an artifice to gain time, but intimated as much  
on the spot; and pressed the immediate execu-  
tion with all the arguments he could devise, be-  
cause he thought all the authority of the British  
govern-



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**PART** government was centered in the king and his  
**IV.** prime minister. But the Emperor, in his deplorable  
 situation, was obliged to be contented with the  
 declaration of the British minister, and to wait  
 the return of the courier dispatched to London.  
 Lord Carteret, in the mean time, earnestly de-  
 sired the Emperor to accept the first payment  
 of the subsidy, settled at 100,000 crowns;  
 which his Imperial majesty offered to receive,  
 upon condition that matters should continue in  
 Bavaria in the same condition; and that, till an  
 accommodation was effected, not the least de-  
 molition, exactions, or hostility, should be com-  
 mitted, nor any future siege attempted: but  
 this was rejected.

**1743.** **WHILE** this treaty was in agitation, the  
 French had every where, except the garrisons  
 at Egra and Ingoldstadt, evacuated Germany:  
 upon this occasion Prince Charles of Lorrain,  
 accompanied by Marshal Khevenhuller and  
 Prince Esterhasi, arrived at Hanau, on the  
 27th of July; and, after receiving the com-  
 pliments of the Duke of Cumberland, the no-  
 bility, and general officers, his highness went  
 to the palace, in the old city, to wait on his  
 Britannic majesty, and was introduced by the  
 Earl of Holderness, the lord of the bedchamber  
 in waiting; when his highness was received in  
 the most gracious manner, staid at court about  
 three hours, and then returned to his own apart-  
 ment, accompanied by the Marshals Stair and  
 Khevenhuller. These two glorious marshals, on  
 whose conduct the fate of mankind depended,  
 expressed the greatest satisfaction by being in-  
 dulg'd with this opportunity of a personal con-  
 versation; as they were charmed with each others  
 character, they participated all the pleasing and  
 refined

ined reflections of the most exalted friendship; CHAP.  
d contracted, without the tedious ceremony IV.

less important courtiers, the most durable  
imacy, a friendship erected on the pedestal of  
true! While these two illustrious commanders  
joyed the happiest moments of their lives, in  
rsonally consulting the protection of man-  
nd, they assisted at several councils of war;  
en resolutions were taken for regulating the  
ture operations of the campaign, to be ready  
n putting them in execution, in case the pro-  
nary articles should be disapproved by the  
itish regency. On the 28th, about five in  
e afternoon, his Britannic majesty, accompa-  
ed by Prince Charles; the Princes William;  
eorge, and Frederic, of Hesse; Prince Ester-  
si; the Field Marshals Stair, Khevenhuller  
id Neuperg; and the greatest part of the  
nerals of the combined army, together with  
veral of the nobility, and other persons of  
tinction, went from the city to the camp;  
here the whole army was drawn up; and  
sted in review: when the Austrian generals  
pressed great satisfaction at so fine an appear-  
nce: Prince Charles dined with his majesty;  
id, early the next morning, set out on his  
turn for the Austrian army, then encamped  
the Margraviate of Dourlach.

ONE of the great objects of the treaty of  
Lanau, was, to make such a provision of re-  
venue for the Emperor, during his life, as  
ould enable him to support the Imperial  
ignity: this revenue was stated at six millions  
f florins a year; for the raising it, certain  
rovinces were to be assigned to him, which  
e was to hold till another provision could be  
ade, by the secularisation of the bishoprics  
of

**PART** of Saltzburg and Wurtzburg; which, though

**IV.** understood, was not however expressed in the treaty: and, in case the produce fell short of that sum, his Britannic majesty was to make

1743.

good the deficiency. When the courier arrived at London with the preliminaries, some of the lords justices assembled; and, though there were several others who were absent, and ought to have been consulted on so important an occasion, the minor part of the regency undertook to annul the treaty, and return the courier to Lord Carteret, with an answer, "That they were of opinion, it was better, till the accomplishment of a general peace, to leave the burthen of supporting his Imperial majesty on the court of France, who would soon be tired of the expence: that the Emperor had not yet disengaged himself from the court of Versailles but by words: that however, his true interest would be, to throw his affairs into the hands of his Britannic majesty without reserve; since his only resource lay in the terms that England could procure for him." With these negative restrictions against the execution of the treaty, the courier returned to Lord Carteret on the 1st of August; who immediately acquainted Prince William of Hesse, that the plan was disapproved by the ministry in England, and communicated to his highness the reasons he had received for the rejection: however, his lordship acquainted the prince, "That endeavours should, nevertheless, be employed, in conjunction with the court of Vienna, to obtain the satisfaction desired by the Emperor." When the Prince of Hesse received this information, he was greatly disgusted;

gusted; for his highness, at that time, conjectured that the preliminaries were never once communicated to the British ministry, but that the rejection was made entirely by Lord Carteret: and his highness inferred, from the discourses of the British and Austrian ministers, that their design was to remove the Emperor and his house to Naples; or to indemnify him, for the loss of his patrimonial estates, by such conquests as should be acquired from France: and, as his highness imagined that the British ministry never intended to bring about an accommodation, he absolutely refused to have any further concern in so fruitless a negotiation. But his highness was mistaken in the conduct of Lord Carteret; who, being sensible that if peace was the only fit measure for British ministers to pursue, found the present the most favourable opportunity of obtaining it, that England, in his time, was ever like to be blessed with; and his lordship was sincerely disposed to have concluded the treaty, rather than force the Emperor to have recourse to such other measures, as would contribute most to a vigorous prosecution of the war: besides, on his return to London, his lordship avowed, to the Imperial and Prussian ministers, "That the treaty of Hanau would have been a good treaty for England; and that his purpose was to have carried it into execution, if the Lords of the regency had not put it out of his power."

THOUGH his Imperial majesty was equally disgusted with the Prince of Hesse; yet, as he was not in a capacity of freely declaring his sentiments, he smothered his resentment; because, as the Queen of Hungary had refused the mediation



of the Imperial diet, the Emperor had no other way to procure an accommodation, than by the mediation of the maritime powers: he accordingly instructed his minister, the Baron de Haflang, to make fresh overtures to Lord Carteret, being willing to accept any terms which the maritime powers should think fit to prescribe. In pursuance of his instructions, the Baron de Haflang acquainted Lord Carteret, "That his Imperial majesty, for the sake of peace, would allow the strong towns of Bavaria to be garrisoned by neutral troops, and renounce all pretensions to the Austrian succession. That he would consent to the assembling a neutral army in the Empire; to augment that army with 15,000 of his electoral troops; and to relinquish the fortresses of Philippsberg, and fort Kehl, to the troops of the circle of Suabia. His Imperial majesty also offered to give his daughter in marriage to the Archduke, who was then three years of age, and to secure the Imperial dignity, in reversion, to the house of Austria, by procuring the young Archduke to be elected King of the Romans; and that he would abide by the judgment of the maritime powers, on the single condition, of obtaining a restitution of his hereditary dominions, even with the mortifying restriction of leaving all the fortified towns, in the possession of neutral troops." But all these considerable offers, though not immediately rejected, terminated without any effect; being evaded by the excuses of dispatching couriers, and such like pretences, till the conclusion of the treaty of Worms; after which not a single step was taken towards an accommodation.

HIS Sardinian majesty was reluctant to hazard the lives of his troops, in dispossessing the Spaniards out of Savoy; and contented himself, till he saw the certainty of a proper satisfaction for his trouble, with defending the passes of the mountains. The court of Vienna conceived, that it was the interest of his Sardinian majesty, to prevent the house of Bourbon from advancing to any further dignity in Italy; and this made the Austrian ministry but little inclined to make such concessions to the King of Sardinia, as he insisted upon, before he exerted his force in their favour. France and Spain embraced this opportunity, and offered the King of Sardinia, among other advantageous terms, the right to Final, in the same manner as he had demanded it to be procured by the Queen of Hungary: these propositions had some influence on his Sardinian majesty, who became peremptory for the immediate performance of the same conditions at the court of Vienna; and the British ministry finding it so expedient, the treaty was carried on with such alacrity, that M. Wafner, the Austrian minister, who had been dispatched to negotiate the treaty at Turin, arrived at Hanau, with the treaty in his pocket, the day before the return of the courier from London, with the resolution of the lords justices concerning the negotiations of the Prince of Hesse. This treaty occasioned many consultations, between Lord Carteret, M. Wafner, and the Chevalier Ossorio the Sardinian minister; being the three plenipotentiaries, authorized for carrying the treaty into execution: which, though completed before the middle of August, was not signed till the 2d of September, when it was formally executed, by the three plenipo-

**PART** tentiaries, at the city of Worms, from whence

**IV.** the treaty is denominated. This was intituled a definitive treaty of peace, union, friendship, and mutual defence, between the crowns of Great Britain, Hungary, and Sardinia; the preamble set forth, ‘ That the disturbances, which, upon  
 1743. ‘ the decease of the Emperor Charles VI, without issue male, arose in Germany, notwithstanding the express tenor of the most solemn and recent treaties of peace and alliance, corroborated by the authentic guaranty of the body of the Empire, which assured to his eldest daughter and her posterity the entire and indivisible succession to his hereditary dominions, manifestly tended to the overthrow of all balance in Europe, and exposed its liberty, and commerce, to the most evident danger; which was encreased, by the conquest, which the Kings of Spain and Naples, had openly undertaken to make of the dominions, possessed by the house of Austria in Italy; contrary to the faith of their own engagements; after which the rest of Italy would no longer be able to resist them, and all the coasts of the Mediterranean sea would be under subjection to one and the same family. To obviate, such imminent evils, and an enterprize, whose consequences would be so fatal to all the princes and states of Italy, to their liberty and commerce, and to that of the maritime powers in the Mediterranean, the contracting powers, having such an essential interest in the preservation of a just balance in Europe, and in the maintenance of the liberty, and security of Italy in particular, on which depended that of its commerce, and of the commerce of the Mediterranean, had resolved to enter into  
 a closer

“ a closer and more inseparable union, in this CHAP.  
“ fixed intention, and to persevere inviolably IV.  
“ in joining their forces and counsels for obtain-  
“ ing the desired effect; and more especially, 1743.  
“ for the sake of repelling, with one accord,  
“ the unjust invasion made by the Kings of Spain  
“ and Naples, and for securing Italy, if possible,  
“ for the future, from all attempts of the same  
“ kind. And, after reciting the provisional  
“ convention, of the 1st of February, 1742.  
“ entered into, with this view, between the  
“ King of Sardinia with the Queen of Hungary,  
“ it was mentioned, that the ministers plenipo-  
“ tentiary, having maturely conferred together,  
“ had agreed upon the following articles.

I. “ THAT there should be, between the  
“ contracting parties, a close friendship, and  
“ sincere, perpetual and inviolable alliance, by  
“ virtue of which they should be obliged to sup-  
“ port, defend, and succour each other reciprocally and constantly, to be attentive to the  
“ security each of the other, as to their own,  
“ to procure all advantages, and to keep off all  
“ damage and prejudice from one another to  
“ the utmost of their power.

II. “ To this end the allies engaged them-  
“ selves afresh to a most express guaranty of all  
“ the kingdoms, states, countries, and dominions, which they were then in possession of,  
“ or ought to possess by virtue of the treaty of  
“ Turin in 1703: of the treaties of Utrecht  
“ and Baden: of the quadruple alliance: of  
“ the treaty of Vienna of the 16th of March,  
“ 1731: of the act of guaranty given in consequence thereof, and passed into a law of the  
“ Empire the 11th of January 1732: of the  
“ act of accession, signed likewise in consequence



PART “ quence of the said treaty, at the Hague the

IV. “ 20th of February 1732: of the treaty of

“ Vienna the 18th of November 1738; and

1743. “ of the accession thereto, done and signed at

“ Versailles the 3d of February 1739: all

“ which treaties were fully recalled and con-

“ firmed, forasmuch as they might concern the

“ allies, and as far as they had not derogated

“ from them by the present treaty.

III. “ IN conformity to the guaranty con-

“ tained in the foregoing article, and to the

“ end that no subject of dispute might remain

“ between the houses of Austria and Savoy,

“ the King of Sardinia, for himself, his heirs

“ and successors, renounced by name, and for

“ ever, but solely in favour of the Queen of

“ Hungary, and of her heirs and successors,

“ his pretended rights upon the state of Milan;

“ which rights, though never admitted on the

“ part of the queen, he had reserved to him-

“ self, by the provisional convention, the liber-

“ ty of availing himself of. And besides, his

“ majesty the King of Sardinia engaged him-

“ self to the guaranty of the order of succession

“ established in the said most serene house, by

“ the pragmatic sanction, in the same manner

“ as it was set forth in the treaty of Vienna

“ of the 16th of March 1731. excepting how-

“ ever, that his majesty should never be obliged

“ to send succours out of Italy.

IV. “ FOR this purpose the King of Sardi-

“ nia, who had already joined his troops to

“ those of the Queen of Hungary, and who

“ had already considerably augmented them,

“ should continue to concert and execute, jointly

“ with her and her generals, all the measures and

“ operations which should be judged the most

“ effectual

“ effectual for keeping off and repelling the CHAP.  
“ invasion then made, or to be thereafter made, IV.  
“ against the dominions of the queen, and for  
“ securing them from all danger, present and 1743.  
“ future, as much as possible.

V “ THAT, as long as the present war should  
“ continue, the Queen of Hungary engaged  
“ to keep 30,000 effective men in Italy. And  
“ the King of Sardinia engaged to employ  
“ 40,000 foot, and 5,000 horse, comprehend-  
“ ing in it, what would be necessary for the  
“ garrisons, and defence of his own dominions.

VI “ THAT the King of Sardinia should  
“ have the supreme command of the allied army,  
“ when he should be there in person, and he  
“ should regulate the military motions and opera-  
“ tions of it, in concert with the Queen of  
“ Hungary, according as the common interest  
“ and occasions should require.

VII “ THAT, as long as it should be necessary  
“ towards favouring and seconding those opera-  
“ tions, and as long as the danger of the Allies,  
“ and of Italy, should demand it, his Britannic  
“ majesty engaged to keep a strong squadron in  
“ the Mediterranean, the admiral and com-  
“ manders whereof should have orders to con-  
“ sult with the King of Sardinia, or with his  
“ generals, and with those of the Queen of  
“ Hungary, who should be nearest at hand, the  
“ most proper measures for the service of the  
“ common cause.

VIII. “ THAT to assist in bearing the extra-  
“ ordinary expence which the King of Sardi-  
“ nia was and would be obliged to support,  
“ for raising, and causing to act, a much great-  
“ er number of troops than his own revenues  
“ could maintain, the King of Great Britain  
“ engaged

PART. “ engaged to furnish to him, for as long as the

IV. “ war, and the occasion for it should continue,

“ a subsidy of 200,000 *l.* sterling per annum,

1743. “ to be paid every three months, and to com-

“ mence from the 1st of February 1742. being

“ the day upon which the provisional conven-

“ tion was signed; and the said subsidy should

“ be punctually paid from three months to

“ three months in advance: provided however,

“ that what should have been advanced to the

“ King of Sardinia, before the signature of the

“ present treaty, should be reckoned into it.

IX “ THAT, in consideration of the zeal, and

“ generosity, with which his Sardinian majesty

“ had been willing to expose his person, and

“ his dominions, for the public cause, the

“ Queen of Hungary, for herself, her heirs

“ and successors, transferred to him his heirs and

“ successors, to be united to his other dominions,

“ the district of Vigevano, called the Vigeve-

“ nasco, the part of the duchy of Pavia between

“ the Po and the Thesin; so that the Thesin

“ should for the future, by the middle of its

“ stream, form the separation and limit between

“ the respective dominions, from the Lago

“ Maggiore, or greater lake, to the place where

“ it falls into the Po; excepting only, the Island

“ formed by the canal over-against the city of

“ Pavia, which island should be reserved to the

“ queen, upon these conditions, that the king

“ should have nevertheless the free communica-

“ tion of the river Thesin for the passage of the

“ barks without their being either stopt, visited,

“ or subjected to the payment of any duty, and

“ that the said canal should never be filled up,

“ and should serve in this place for a limit. Also

“ the Pavese, beyond the Po, Bobbio, and its

“ territory

“ territory being reckoned into it, the city of CHAP.  
“ Plaisance, with that part of the duchy of IV.  
“ Placentia which is between the Pavese, and  
“ as far as the bed of the river Nura, from its 1743.  
“ source quite to the Po.

“ HER majesty also ceded that part of the  
“ county of Anghiera, bordering upon the No-  
“ varese, the valley of Sesia, the Great Alps,  
“ and the country of Vallais, extending to the  
“ Swiss prefectures of Val Maggia and Locarno,  
“ and along the banks of, and in the Lago  
“ Maggiore, to the middle of the lake: which  
“ countries the queen dismembered for ever from  
“ her hereditary dominions, and from the state  
“ of Milan, derogating for that purpose, as far  
“ as there could be occasion for it, from every  
“ thing that might in any manner be contrary  
“ thereto, saving always the direct jurisdiction  
“ of the Empire.

X. “ Besides, as it was of importance to the  
“ public cause that the King of Sardinia should  
“ have an immediate communication of his domi-  
“ nions with the sea, and with the maritime  
“ powers, the Queen of Hungary yielded to  
“ him all the rights which she might have to  
“ the town and marquisate of Final, which  
“ rights she transferred to him without any res-  
“ triction, in the just expectation, that the re-  
“ public of Genoa would facilitate, as far as  
“ should be necessary, a disposition so indispen-  
“ sably requisite for the liberty and security of  
“ Italy, in consideration of the sum, which  
“ should be found to be due to the republic,  
“ without the King of Sardinia, nor the Queen  
“ of Hungary, being obliged to contribute to  
“ the payment of the said sum, provided that  
“ the town of Final should be and remain for  
VOL II. C c c ever

PART “ ever a free port, like Leghorn; and that it

IV. “ should be allowable for the King of Sardinia  
 “ to re-establish there the forts which had been  
 1743. “ demolished, or to cause others to be built  
 “ according as he should judge convenient.

XI. “ THE contracting powers mutually en-  
 “ gaged themselves not to make either peace or  
 “ truce, without comprehending therein, in ex-  
 “ press words, all the above-mentioned cessions,  
 “ and without stipulating also a full restitution  
 “ to the King of Sardinia of every part of his  
 “ other dominions, which might have been  
 “ seized or occupied in hatred of his union with  
 “ the Allies; provided, that the King of Sar-  
 “ dinia should hold himself to be, from this pre-  
 “ sent time, indemnified for the revenue which  
 “ might be so withheld from him, by that of  
 “ the countries yielded and transferred to him  
 “ by the present treaty.

XII. “ IN return, the King of Sardinia should  
 “ remain firmly and inseparably united and at-  
 “ tached to the interests, and to the cause, of the  
 “ Allies, not only for as long as the war might last  
 “ in Italy, but to the conclusion of the peace in  
 “ Germany, and of the peace between Great Britain  
 “ and Spain; and this was the principal condition,  
 “ and sine qua non, of the cessions made to  
 “ him above, by the 9th and 10th articles of  
 “ this treaty; which cessions should not receive  
 “ their full and irrevocable force, but from in-  
 “ tire accomplishment, after which the coun-  
 “ tries yielded to him should be deemed gua-  
 “ ranteed to him by the Allies for ever, as his  
 “ other dominions were.

XIII. “ THAT, as soon as Italy should be  
 “ delivered from enemies, and out of all appar-  
 “ ent danger of being afresh invaded, the Queen  
 “ of

“ of Hungary should not only be at liberty CHAP.  
“ to withdraw part of her troops, but, if she re- IV.  
“ quired it, the King of Sardinia should furnish  
“ her some of his own troops to be employed 1743.  
“ for the security of her dominions in Lombardy,  
“ that so she might be able to make use of a  
“ greater number of her own in Germany, in  
“ like manner as, at the requisition of the King  
“ of Sardinia, the Queen of Hungary should  
“ cause some of her troops to pass into his do-  
“ minions if it were necessary, for defending  
“ the passages thereof, which an enemy’s army  
“ should undertake to force, and for delivering  
“ from enemies all his dominions, and freeing  
“ them from any danger of a fresh invasion.

XIV. “ THAT, in any case, the allies should  
“ not make either peace, or truce, or accom-  
“ modation whatsoever, with the common ene-  
“ my, but in concert, and with the participation  
“ and advice one of the other, nor without the  
“ guaranty of such powers as should have a  
“ share in the pacification, for the possessions  
“ and acquisitions of the Allies, as set forth in  
“ this treaty; and, after the conclusion of the  
“ peace, the present alliance should equally  
“ and unalterably subsist, as well for the security  
“ of its execution, as, in general, for the mutual  
“ and constant security of the Allies,

XV. “ THE King of Sardinia, and the  
“ Queen of Hungary, in gratitude for the gene-  
“ rous concern of his Britannic majesty for the  
“ public security, and for theirs, and for that  
“ of Italy in particular, not only confirmed to  
“ the British subjects the advantages of commerce  
“ and navigation, which they enjoyed in their  
“ respective dominions, but promised to secure  
“ them still farther to them, and as far as it  
“ should

PART “ should be found reasonable and practicable, by

IV. “ a specific treaty of commerce and navigation,

“ whenever his Britannic majesty should require

1743. “ it of them.

XVI. and XVII. “ THAT the states general,

“ and other princes and states inclined to peace

“ and the liberty of Europe, should be invited

“ to accede to this treaty.”

THE ratifications were soon afterwards exchanged, by the Austrian and Sardinian ministers; and, on the 20th of September, the treaty was also ratified by eleven lords of the British regency.

THIS treaty of Worms was of the utmost consequence to the Allies, by securing the King of Sardinia; because the war in Italy could not have been continued without his assistance: though nothing but the pressure of the times could have induced her Hungarian majesty to contribute so highly to the aggrandizing his Sardinian majesty. The whole treaty was peculiarly calculated for the tranquillity and preservation of the balance of power in Italy; but the cession of Final, must naturally incite a spirit of resentment in the Genoese, who were already too jealous of the encroaching disposition of his Sardinian majesty. The princes of the house of Savoy, being sensible that power is acquired by wealth, and that wealth flows chiefly from commerce, have been always intent upon establishing and encouraging trade in their territories: for this end, Villa Franca was declared a free port, in 1669, and a treaty of commerce was concluded by Duke Charles Emanuel II. the grandfather of his present majesty, with the crown of England; though, as this port was not contiguous to the centre of his dominions in Italy, the project came

to nothing. But Final, lying thirty-seven miles S. W. of the city of Genoa, and thirty N. E. of Oneglia, has all the advantages, from its situation, which the court of Turin could desire; and though it has no regular port, yet, as the road is good, it may be made as commodious and safe a harbour as any in Italy: for the port of Genoa, which is one of the best and fairest in the world, is artificial; and nature was not so luxuriant at Genoa, as at Final, before the moles were made.

THE town and marquisate of Final, was purchased of the Emperor, by the republic, so long ago as the year 1713, for 1,200,000 pieces of eight, or 300,000 *l.* sterling: and though by the tenth article of this treaty, it was agreed, “ That the sum which should be found to be due, should be paid to the republic, before she parted with the possession;” yet it could not be well imagined, that the Genoese would consent to be deprived of so valuable a part of their dominions; especially as it lies so contiguous to the Montferrat, Milanese, Mantuan, and all the best of the Sardinian dominions; and as by declaring it a free port it would run away with all the trade of Genoa, which principally depends on furnishing the inland countries: besides, the republic thought it the highest injury, to be dispossessed of a property, which Great Britain had guaranteed to her, by the 4th article of the quadruple alliance; and the sale made by the late Emperor was absolute, containing neither implied, nor expressly, any thing like or relative to a mortgage; or any equity of redemption. The cession of Final, was declared to be made, only, “ That the King of Sardinia might have a communication of his dominions

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PART “minions with the sea, and with the maritime

IV. “powers;” but this could not be the principal reason, for that monarch was then in possession of the ports of Nice and Villa Franca, near the coast of Provence; and of Oneglia, not far from Final, in the very heart of the Genoese territory. So that this poor, but old and venerable, commonwealth, was reduced to the melancholy dilemma of resigning this valuable town and marquissate, and hazard her own liberty and security; or, by throwing herself into the protection of France, to exert her antient spirit, and be reduced to the necessity of becoming an open enemy to England, which she both equally dreaded and respected. On the notification of the treaty, the republic avowed their disapprobation of it, to the contracting powers; and the Marquis Pallavicini, the Genoese minister at Francfort, presented a memorial to the Imperial diet, “Demanding the protection of the Empire, against the contracting parties in the treaty of Worms, by which the marquissate of Final, a fief of the Empire, was to be taken from the republic, and granted to the King of Sardinia:” which plainly indicated, that the intentions of the republic were to oppose this disposition.

By this treaty of Worms the future violence of the war was established, in opposition to the propositions of peace made at Hanau; when, the war in Germany might have been as agreeably terminated, with as much real satisfaction to all the contending parties, as it was after the loss of so many thousands of lives. But the Emperor was still pacifically inclined; the proposals that were made at Hanau were repeated at Vienna: his Prussian majesty offered his mediation,

ation, jointly with that of the Empire, to the CHAP.  
aritime powers, in order to put an end to so IV.  
al a war: though the courts of London and  
enna were now bent on military operations, 1743.  
d the Dutch declined their mediation in a  
etty categorical manner.

THE King of Prussia, who had backed the  
perial negotiations with the most pathetic and  
ongest remonstrances and persuasions, finding  
e treaty of Worms had abolished all pacific  
ntiments at the court of Vienna, was ambi-  
ous of shewing his influence in Europe; and,  
the 20th of September, had an interview, at  
rspach, with Marshal Seckendorff; and from  
ence proceeded privately to Francfort, where  
held a long conference with the Emperor.  
hough this tour occasioned various speculations,  
e designs of this politic monarch were too myste-  
ous to be penetrated by the most discerning poli-  
tians: however the nature of his conferences  
ay be conjectured, from his future conduct in  
oposing the Queen of Hungary; especially as he  
terwards publicly declared, "That the more  
moderation was shewn by the Emperor, the  
more visible was the inflexibility of the Queen  
of Hungary." These sentiments, as they  
ere early inculcated by France, so they were  
ily strengthened by its minister at the court of  
erlin; who represented, that the Queen of  
ungary had concluded alliances to indemnify  
e courts of London and Turin for the extra-  
rdinary succours which they had afforded her;  
d that those indemnifications consisted, as  
ell in siefs of the Empire, as in hopes given  
ith relation to certain bishoprics: till at length  
e King of Prussia, disregardless of the acqui-  
sions he had obtained, from the house of Aus-  
tria,

**PART** tria, was suborned, by the subtilty of the court

**IV.** of Versailles, to incline towards a breach of his

royal fidelity, given by the treaty of Breslau, by

**1743.** forming another alliance against the Queen of

Hungary; and, when he did become a party

in the quarel as an auxiliary to the head of the

Empire, in his appeal to the public, he founded

his justification on the rejection of the treaty of Hanau.

BUT the ministry at Vienna were of the same opinion with the lords justices at London, in refusing the overtures of his Imperial majesty: the Queen of Hungary had never acknowledged the Emperor; and had formally protested against the election, and the suspension of the vote of Bohemia; though these protests had never been registred during the life of the late Elector of Mentz; but when Count Ostein became his successor, these protests were delivered in to the dictature of the Empire: and, in September, another protest was registred, whereby the Queen of Hungary declared the election of the Emperor void to all intents and purposes, and that the present diet of Francfort was illegal.

THE Queen of Hungary, at the same time, published an order for the states of Bavaria, to take an oath of allegiance to her as their sovereign, on pain of confiscation of their effects: this was protested against by the Emperor; and his electoral subjects, however they had been impoverished and harrassed by his unjust and imprudent conduct, were yet unwilling to renounce their allegiance to a prince who was remarkably popular, and whose misfortunes were to be imputed more to the artifices of France than to his own disposition; and though some of the Bavarians publicly expressed their reluctance to transfer

for their allegiance, the rules of policy made it necessary to punish them, by which all commotions were prevented. This was a public manifestation, to his Imperial majesty, that the court of Vienna too highly resented his sanguinary intentions of over-running the Austrian dominions: it was recollected at Vienna, that the Emperor never made the least propositions of peace, when he was in possession of Bohemia, and formed the idea of extinguishing the lustre of the Austrian line; besides, both the courts of London and Vienna, were the more prevalently induced to continue the war, by the present conduct of the States General, who had now ordered the 20,000 men, voted for the service of the Hungarian queen, to march and join the confederate army in Germany. France was not idle at so favourable a conjuncture, when his Prussian majesty was ready to cancel the treaty of Breslau and fly from his neutrality; though she expected full employment in Italy, she had a fair prospect of cementing a more powerful confederacy in Germany against the Queen of Hungary; and therefore the court of Versailles ordered the Emperor a remittance, of 160,000 florins, to continue him in his adherence to France, who was now establishing an alliance capable of defeating all the projects of the Queen of Hungary and her allies.

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## CHAPTER V.

The continuation of the campaign in GERMANY, and ITALY: the surrender of EGRA and INGOLDSTADT: COLONEL MENTZEL'S incursions into LORRAIN: and the attempts of PRINCE CHARLES to penetrate into UPPER ALSACE. The repulse of the FRENCH and SPANIARDS from CHATEAU DAUPHINE: the retreat of COUNT DE GAGES to FANO: and a SPANISH plan for future operations.

PART IV. **S**INCE the battle of Dettingen, nothing but perpetual animosities subsisted in the confederate army, between the British and 1743: Hanoverian troops: the former, jealous of their national honour, could not bear the indignity of seeing the royal favour more particularly thrown to the Hanoverians, who they looked upon only as mercenaries: the behaviour of the latter was so arrogant, on the presumption of engrossing

engrossing all the regard of his Britannic majesty, that the whole camp was in a flame; and, from both officers and soldiers, nothing could be heard but expressions of resentment, threats of revenge, or clamours of detestation. Neither the rank, nor the merits, of the Duke of Marlborough, who attended the army, were sufficient to exempt him from the insolence of

the Hanoverian general taking up the quarters which had been pitched upon by his grace, who, with a spirit worthy of his birth, resigned that commission which only exposed him to insults and contempt. Marshal Stair found he had only an empty title, and an inefficacious commission; he had the mortification to see his orders neglected and disobeyed, by the Hanoverians; and, rather than be only a nominal commander, without power and authority, he chose to resign a title unsupported by any real dignity. This resignation was an inconceivable loss to Europe in general, and particularly to Britain; who, was thus deprived of the councils of her most penetrating statesman, and the arms of her most experienced and bravest warrior: a soldier who had been honoured with the friendship and confidence of the glorious Duke of Marlborough, and to whose inspection the illustrious Prince Eugene submitted his military schemes: in the Earl of Stair, the confederate army lost their ablest commander; for, in him, they were deprived of all that nature or experience had ever furnished to complete a general; a mind at once calm and intrepid, a temper at once active and resolute: qualities, of which, if any recommendation could be imagined necessary, it may with justice be affirmed, that they were recommended by a thousand testimonies of the firmest ad-

PART herence to his Britannic majesty, and by suffer-  
IV. ings for the sacred cause of liberty and justice.

However, Marshal Stair obtained the permission  
1743. of his Britannic majesty for his resignation and  
return to England: and, being charged with a  
commission to the States General, to assure  
them of the friendship of his Britannic majesty;  
his lordship, on the 31st of October, presented  
a memorial to the States, in order to take leave  
of the republic before his departure for Eng-  
land; wherein he mentioned, as an apology for  
his resignation, "That it was but natural that  
"princes should employ, in their service, such  
"as were most agreeable to them. His lord-  
"ship urged the States to a preservation of their  
"union with Great Britain; for that both coun-  
"tries, respectively, had stood indebted for  
"their liberty, to this union; and, that with-  
"out such a perfect union, the independency  
"of Europe had been often swallowed up. That  
"to the union of the maritime powers, the  
"house of Austria owed its preservation; and,  
"as at that very hour, by the evident protec-  
"tion of divine providence, the house of Aus-  
"tria, and consequently all Europe, was deli-  
"vered from the danger of approaching slavery;  
"it seemed, every way, worthy of the mari-  
"time powers, and their Allies, to employ the  
"necessary means for preventing her falling  
"back, by a new war, into dangers, like those,  
"to which she had been exposed, in all the  
"different wars that had risen for seventy years  
"past." And his lordship, having divested  
himself of his plenipotentiary character, by tak-  
ing his audience of leave of their High Mighti-  
nesses; the president, on this occasion, expressed  
the highest sentiments, of that regard and of  
them,

teem, which the integrity, and eminent virtues, of his lordship, had merited from the republic.

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THE French, being obliged to retreat into their own territories, had given the Queen of Hungary an opportunity to re-establish the tranquility of her dominions; of which there remained only the surrender of Egra, to put her in complete possession, and this was daily expected, the French being closely blocked up by General Festitz, with a general scarcity of every kind of provisions. This made Count Herouville, who commanded there, declare that he intended to set fire to the town, and endeavour to escape in the confusion; on which two burgo-masters came to intreat the Austrian general, to grant such conditions as might prevent so dreadful a calamity: but General Festitz could promise no more, than, that he would lay their petition before her Hungarian majesty; for he was convinced that this was only a stratagem of the French, to obtain an honourable capitulation; and that the commandant would not attempt to put in execution a design that must prove them not only barbarians but madmen: for it did not appear, how, by firing the town, they would become more able to break through the troops that invested it; nor, if they should force the blockade, could it be imagined that they would, ever, regain their own country, through so many armies that lay ready to intercept them: and what could they hope, after perpetrating an act of such cruelty; but to be hunted like savage beasts, whom, it is the general interest of the human species to destroy? It soon appeared as the Austrian general apprehended; for the commandant demanded a capitulation, which was granted, on the 1st of September;



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September: whereby, the garrison were allowed their baggage, but not their arms; and, though it was granted that they should not be sent into Hungary, their officers were not allowed to go into France on their parole. Upon these terms the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners, to the number of 2,453 men; of whom only 1,507 were private foldiers: and General Festitz, with part of the forces under his command, pursuant to orders, proceeded to reinforce Prince Charles of Lorrain; who was then attempting the passage of the Rhine. The commandant of Ingoldstadt soon followed the example of the garrison of Egra; and, on the 6th of September, agreed to surrender, if he received no relief before the end of the month; which expiring, without the arrival of any succours, the garrison, consisting of 4,000 men, surrendered prisoners of war. As this is the strongest fortification in Bavaria, it was not only the general magazine of the electorate, but the treasury to which the archives of Bavaria, and all the valuable effects of the electorate family, had been sent from Munich for security; so that the surrender of this important place, put into the hands of the Queen of Hungary, 175 pieces of brass cannon, 7 stone cannon, and 3 iron; 31 large mortars, 8 smaller mortars, 100,000 cannon shot, 500 quintals of powder, 24,000 muskets, 6,000 pair of pistols, 10,000 quintals of meal; besides the most valuable effects of the nobility and gentry of Bavaria, and all the Emperor's domestic treasure of jewels, pictures, and plate; with the fine furniture, cabinets, and other curiosities of the electoral palaces, and all the archives. An irreparable loss to the Emperor, who was obliged to seek for shelter in a foreign country, with the mortification of

of seeing himself a burthen to the place of his residence : but though this considerable prize would have invited an ungenerous or revengeful enemy eagerly to have confiscated all to their own use, it served only to give the Emperor an illustrious proof of the moderation and benevolence of that princess, from whom he had no reason to expect the least favour of generosity, and but little of clemency ; for the Hungarian queen, on this occasion, published a rescript, in which she declared, “ Her readiness to restore immediately the jewels, and other effects, to his Imperial majesty, as soon as a peace was concluded, on just and honourable terms.”

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IN pursuance of the plan concerted, at Hanau, for the future operations of the campaign, the confederate army, when joined by the Dutch forces, were to march from Hanau, towards Landshut, in pursuit of Marshal Noailles ; while Prince Charles of Lorrain was to attempt the passage of the Rhine, into Upper Alsace : which, if opportunely effected, would inclose the French between two fires, and oblige them to venture a decisive battle. In consequence of which his Britannic majesty at the head of the allied army, which had been joined by Colonel Mentzel, with a body of 4,000 Austrian irregulars marched from Hanau, on the 4th of August ; on the 27th of the same month, they passed the Rhine, above Mentz ; and proceeded to Worms : where the king, on the 30th, took up his quarters in the episcopal palace, being guarded by the horse regiment of militia belonging to the city : where the army continued long in their encampment, expecting to be joined by the 20,000 Dutch, who were now on their march, under the command of Count Maurice of Nassau, with orders

**PART** orders to act, as auxiliaries, under the command

**IV.** of either the Austrian or British general, as the service of the Queen of Hungary required: and,

1743. as they had then entered the Palatinate of the Rhine, the confederate army, on the 25th of September, advanced to Spire; where they were joined by the Dutch. Marshal Noailles continued posted in the strong lines of Lauterberg, near Landau: and Colonel Mentzel, while the confederate army continued at Worms, made a successful incursion into Luxemburg and Lorrain, on the 10th of September, and encamping at Traarbach, published a manifesto, importing,

“ That the Queen of Hungary, having driven  
 “ her enemies out of the Empire, and being  
 “ firmly resolved to prosecute her victories and  
 “ advantages, had ordered him to penetrate  
 “ into those countries, which the Crown of  
 “ France had found means to tear from the  
 “ German empire, by her artifices and intrigues.  
 “ That he was particularly instructed, to make  
 “ it known, to all the inhabitants of the pro-  
 “ vinces of Alsace, Burgundy, Franche-Comte,  
 “ Lorrain, and Barr, as also of the bishoprics of  
 “ Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and of the coun-  
 “ tries formerly appertaining to the duchy of  
 “ Luxemburg; that it was by no means the in-  
 “ clination of her Hungarian majesty, to use  
 “ reprisals in those countries, for the safety of  
 “ which the house of Austria would always in-  
 “ terest itself, as preserving therein its property:  
 “ but she, on the contrary, intended to make  
 “ known to all her subjects in France, how  
 “ much she was concerned to see them sigh  
 “ under so insupportable a yoke, and how  
 “ sensible she was to behold the Empire, the  
 “ constant theatre of every war, as being al-  
 “ ways

ways liable to attacks through those provinces, and to become the object of all the wars which the ambition of France had raised, one after another, as well in the Empire itself, as in the dominions of the house of Austria : wars, which had cost the lives of millions of men, and made so many millions more miserable. THAT, for these reasons, willing to give immediate proofs of her clemency to all these provinces, her Hungarian majesty made known to all, and every one, and particularly to the inhabitants of the flat country, that all such as remained quietly in their respective dwellings, behaved themselves amicably, did not pretend to take up arms, paid their contributions, delivered exactly the provisions and forage that was demanded of them, did not alienate their effects, nor abandoned their habitations ; to all such, it was made known, as well to the nobility and to the clergy, as to the inhabitants of cities, boroughs, and villages, that they might safely depend on the clemency of the queen, who would always hear their complaints with the utmost readiness, and cause speedy justice to be done them ; the just and kind intentions of her majesty having never had any other meaning, than the establishing the tranquility of the Empire, which had been broke in upon, and destroyed, by the violences and unjust attempts of her enemies. THAT her majesty, having still the same views, as she would never have any other, had thought fit, towards accomplishing them, to propose the re-establishment, and replacing, of all the before-mentioned provinces in their antient condition, and under their proper government, with an intent to shut

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“ France within her former bounds; so that  
 “ she might no longer be troubled with the  
 “ strange humour of intermeddling with the  
 “ affairs of the Empire, under the specious pre-  
 “ tences of mediation, using her pacific good  
 “ offices, or of any more enterprizing to direct  
 “ at her fancy, or to support the elections of an  
 “ Emperor, under a design thereby the further  
 “ and better to open a road to that universal  
 “ monarchy, which had been for many years  
 “ her constant aim. The design was to spare  
 “ her, for the future, all these sorts of pains,  
 “ by putting her into such a condition, as that  
 “ she would have nothing to employ her thoughts  
 “ but her own preservation, and have the same  
 “ interest that other powers had, in preserving,  
 “ for the time to come, the ballance of Europe.  
 “ THAT, as for those who should oppose the  
 “ glorious arms of the high Allies, and who did not  
 “ submit, they should be proceeded against with  
 “ all imaginable rigour; and in case the inhabi-  
 “ tants of the towns, or of the flat country, who  
 “ were not in military service, in which they  
 “ could not take part without precipitating their  
 “ own ruin and that of their country, should  
 “ be so ill advised as to take up arms, or to  
 “ commit any hostilities, directly or indirectly,  
 “ they should not only be brought to reason,  
 “ by the convincing argument of fire and sword,  
 “ but the Austrians should also oblige such vio-  
 “ lators of the gracious orders of their queen,  
 “ to cut off the ears and noses of each other,  
 “ after which they should be hanged as rebels;  
 “ and the Austrians would not fail, in the like  
 “ case, to imitate all the beautiful illuminations  
 “ practised by the troops of France in the Em-  
 “ pire, and in the hereditary dominions of the  
 “ house

“ house of Austria: THAT, for these reasons, CHAP.  
“ Colonel Mentzel had addressed, and caused V.  
“ to be distributed before-hand, throughout all  
“ the before-mentioned provinces, these letters 1743.  
“ patent, that all, and every one, might regu-  
“ late their conduct by them; to the end, that  
“ they might prevent their proper ruin, and  
“ that of their country, and secure themselves  
“ from inevitable and exemplary punishment.”

ON this occasion the French published an edict, ordering, that if any of the Austrians, under Colonel Mentzel, should be taken, they should be immediately hanged: and the colonel declared, with equal justice and spirit, that if any officers among the French should dare to execute those orders, he would spare none that fell in his hands, whether soldiers or inhabitants. Colonel Mentzel, for some time, exacted large contributions, without any interruption; and, besides a prodigious plunder in horses, cattle, and forage, he had the good fortune to surprize seven mules laden with gold and silver, designed to pay the French army in Alsace, which he carried off, after defeating the escorte. Marshal Noailles sent a strong detachment against this resolute body of Austrians; and, on the 15th of September, a smart action happened, at Spittalhoff, between a party of 500 French, commanded by M. Remberg and Lieutenant-Colonel de la Brosse, and a body of Pandours, led by Colonel Belesnay; but the former were so roughly handled, that scarce forty escaped, and even those were pursued to the gates of Landau: after which the Pandours returned to the field of battle, where they obliged the peasants to strip the dead, giving them the cloaths and linnen for their reward; they then, all covered with blood and

PART sweat, paid ready money for wine, brandy, and

IV. other refreshments, and continued drinking, feasting, and dancing, all night, in the midst of the slain. The Pandours, having joined

1743. Colonel Mentzel, he determined on endeavouring to burn the French magazines at Landau; which he unsuccessfully attempted, on the 25th of September at night, where he had the misfortune to break his leg, by his horse falling with him into a ditch, which put an end to his exploits, for this season.

WHEN the Allies were joined by the Dutch forces, at Spire, the combined army consisted of 66,500 men, exclusive of the 4,000 Austrians under Colonel Mentzel, and were encamped within fifteen miles of Landau; in which neighbourhood the French, under Marshal Noailles, still continued, in the strong lines of Lauterberg: but as the combined army was greatly superior to the French, and being in motion to quit their camp, Marshal Noailles, on the 26th of September, precipitately abandoned his posts on the rivers Queich and Lauter, and retired with his army into Upper Alsace; while the confederates proceeded to Germersheim, a town situate on the west side of the Rhine, ten miles east of Landau, opposite to Philipsberg: from whence, on the 6th of October, a strong detachment was sent to demolish the French entrenchments on the Queich, which was effected, on the 7th, without opposition. It was apprehended that the combined army would have penetrated into Alsace, and made an attack upon some of the French garrisons; but the Duke de Boufflers was preparing to defend Landau, and the season being so far advanced, the country wasted by the French, and as Prince Charles was not able

to pass the Rhine, these reasons induced the confederates to return to the camp at Spire: from whence, as the operations of the campaign, as settled at Hanau, could not be effected, the whole army, on the 11th of October, proceeded to Mentz; and soon after the Allies separated, to take up their winter quarters: the English, Austrians, and Hanoverians, in British pay, returned to Flanders; the Dutch to Brabant and Gelderland; and the Hessians, with the rest of the Hanoverians, to their own country. On which his Britannic majesty, accompanied by the Duke of Cumberland, Lord Carteret, and other persons of distinction, returned to Hanover; from whence they soon after set out for Holland; and, arriving at Gravesend on the 15th of November, the same day, they passed through the city, amidst the acclamations of the populace.

ABOUT the same time as the confederates marched from Hanau, Prince Charles of Lorraine, at the head of 64,000 men, left the neighbourhood of Heidelberg; and proceeded to the Brisgau, one of the Austrian territories in the circle of Suabia, opposite to the Upper Alsace; from which it is divided only by the Rhine: where his highness proposed to cross the river, expecting that the motions of the confederates would enable him to enter the dominions of the French; who, he apprehended, when two armies were raising contributions amongst them, would begin to feel those miseries with which they had so wantonly afflicted the neighbouring countries, and sink under the burthen of a war when it should be carried on wholly at their own expence. Prince Charles had intelligence that the army under Marshal Broglio were making movements on the borders of Alsace; upon which

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V.

1743-



PART which Baron Trenck was ordered, with 500

IV. Hussars and Pandours, to march to old Brisac,

through the black forest, to protect the Austrian

1743. territories from the incursions of the French.

Baron Trenck arrived at old Brisac, on the 9th of August, and found the garrison, consisting of 400 of Daun's regiment, in very good condition, and the fortifications repaired. The Baron, immediately on his arrival, dispatched a detachment, of 100 Pandours and 25 Hussars, to Neuperg, with orders to cross the Rhine there, and make an inroad into Alsace. This expedition succeeded so well, that the first time of their passing the Rhine, which was by noon-day, they carried off forty head of black cattle: but, on the 17th of August, Baron Trenck passed the Rhine, in the night, with 200 men, and directly took five armed peasants prisoners; he then attacked the French tete du pont, and, after a short resistance, carried it: thence he proceeded to a mill, just on the other side of the bridge, where there was a post of 100 French troopers, which he immediately attacked, and took 16 horses, with part of the troopers equipage; upon whose refusing to surrender, the mill, and a contiguous shed, were set on fire by the Pandours, whereby the remainder of the horses and equipage, together with the troopers themselves, all perished miserably in the flames; the Pandours only saving the standards, and a trumpeter's coat, which were sent as trophies to Prince Charles.

THIS irruption of the Pandours, made the French begin to perceive the effects of an invasion: the wealthier part of the inhabitants were industrious in removing their effects, and every one appeared solicitous for his own security, without

without placing much confidence either in the policy or valour of their troops. On the 20th of August Baron Trenck, with his Pandours, made another passage over the Rhine, and attacking one of the French batteries, on the bank, made a quarter-master, four cuirassiers, and two armed peasants, prisoners; and after that razed and destroyed the works.

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MEAN while the army, under Prince Charles, having marched in three columns, arrived in the neighbourhood of Fribourg, the capital of the territory of Brisgau; where a council of war was held, on the 31st of September, when it was agreed, to attempt the passage of the Rhine. But it was apprehended to be a work of the utmost difficulty, because Marshal Coigni had an army of 30,000 French ready to oppose the passage, who had been continually employed in erecting forts and redoubts all along the banks of the river, from Strasberg to Hunningen: yet, with a resolution superior to all these obstacles, Prince Charles was determined to venture on the enterprise, though the French were entrenched, up to the chin, all along the banks of the river. Accordingly Baron Trenck was ordered to lead the van-guard, and commence the attack with his Pandours: every thing being prepared, on the 3d of September, towards eight o'clock at night, the Baron, with all his Pandours, in several boats, went and attacked the isle of Rheinmark, which was fortified by two strong redoubts; but one of them was guarded only by two captains, three lieutenants, one cornet, and eighty-two private men, belonging to several regiments; who, making a vigorous resistance, obliged the Pandours to storm the place sword in hand, where the French were all cut to pieces, the

com-

**PART** commandant, Count Creveceur, being killed

**IV.** by Baron Trenck : who, on his side, lost one

**1743.** captain, one lieutenant, and thirty-seven common soldiers killed and wounded. This action

so terrified the other garrison, that they precipitately quitted the isle to the Austrians; which was maintained, by a strong body, during the rest of the campaign. Notwithstanding this acquisition, the Austrians, after making a great number of false alarms, stratagems of amusement and countermarches, daring attempts, and warm engagements, were unable to force the French from their strong entrenchments; who, being reinforced by a detachment from Marshal Noailles, were equal in number to the Austrians, and made a brave opposition, animated by the consideration of fighting on their own ground, and defending the passes into their own country, against such brave and experienced commanders as Prince Charles and Marshal Khevenhuller; who exerted all their military skill, but proved unsuccessful, while encountering so many difficulties. The Prince of Waldeck, on the 5th of September, was ordered, with five companies, to attempt a passage, opposite to little Landau, fifteen miles above old Brisac: the prince actually crossed the river; but the post being defended by 800 French, under Lieutenant-General Balincourt, and a thick fog arising, which occasioned some mistakes in the disposition, the Austrians were repulsed, with the loss of sixty men. After which there was a perpetual fluctuation of inconsiderable advantages, till the 12th of October, when Prince Charles, finding the confederates had made no attack upon Marshal Noailles, decamped from the Brisgau, where he left 14,000 foot, and six regiments of horse and  
hussars;

hussars; and, after putting the remainder of his army into winter quarters, in the Upper Palatinate and Bavaria, his highness, and Marshal Khevenhuller, repaired to Vienna, where they were received with the highest honours and marks of distinction.

WHEN the court of Versailles found all their interest was determined at the Court of Turin; the Prince of Conti, with twenty battalions of French, and seven of Swiss, being 22,000 men, was ordered to reinforce the Spaniards in Savoy, and force a passage into Piedmont; which the Marquis de la Minas had unsuccessfully attempted, with the loss of 3,000 men. For the King of Sardinia was entirely satisfied with the conduct of the courts of London and Vienna; and, having collected all his force, he obliged the Spaniards to retire to Chamberry, with their spirits totally depressed, and the loss of 2,000 men in their retreat. But the young Spanish prince was now again elated with the hopes of royalty, when he was assured that the French, under the Prince of Conti, were in full march for Dauphine; and that 4,000 Spaniards were also in their way, from Catalonia, to join the army: though, as the King of Sardinia had entered Savoy with 40,000 men, the Marquis de la Minas abandoned Chamberry, on the 22d of August, and defiled through Dauphine, towards Briançon, thirty-six miles west of Turin; where he was speedily joined by the 4,000 Spaniards; and, on the 20th of September the marquis was reinforced by the French auxiliaries; when the whole army consisted of 56,000 men: where they continued, some time, in forming resolutions for commencing their operations, and to give the

PART French army leisure of refreshing themselves  
IV. after a fatiguing march.

1743. THE King of Sardinia, knew that the Prince of Conti was brave, fond of arms, and of an enterprizing disposition, he expected a vigorous attack, and ordered the posts near Nice, and all the passes of the mountains, particularly Chatteau Dauphine, to be reinforced : while Admiral Matthews landed 800 men, and a great number of cannon, from his squadron, at Villa Franca, to secure that important post from any danger.

THE Prince of Conti and the Marquis de la Minas came to a resolution, notwithstanding the advanced season, to attempt forcing the Piedmontese lines, at Chatteau Dauphine. With this intent, the French and Spaniards decamped from Briancon, on the 28th of September ; and arriving on the confines of Dauphine, early in the morning on the 1st of October, very smartly attacked the Piedmontese, though they were repulsed with the loss of 800 men. They continued the attack eight days successively, but were always defeated, and at last compelled to retreat, being closely pursued by the Vaudois, or Barbets ; who took 12 pieces of cannon, all the furniture belonging to Don Philip's chapel, and 400 mules richly laden with baggage. The French and Spaniards retired to Chamberry, and took up their quarters in Savoy ; where they continued unmolested during the winter ; though they were so scarce of provisions, that above 5,900 men deserted to the Piedmontese ; and the Swiss, in the Spanish service, imagining that there was not due regard paid to them in the distribution of winter quarters, represented their grievance to Don Philip, by their Colonel Boscay,

Boscay, whom he ordered to be sent prisoner CHAP. V.  
into Spain; on which 300 of that corps deserted.

While the Spaniards continued in Savoy, the Swiss cantons were suspicious that they would endeavour to penetrate, through the Valais, into the Milanese; which the whole confederate cantons were determined to oppose. As this warlike body could immediately assemble an army of 100,000 men, the Spaniards never attempted to force their way through the Swiss dominions; though they had bribed the bishop of Syon to connive at their passage into the Milanese; which was prevented by the honesty of the people, who declared they would oppose it, and were assured of assistance from the protestant cantons. 1743.

THE state of affairs, in the pontifical territories, remained with little alteration since the retreat of Count de Gages to Rimini; the Spaniards and Austrians having rather harrassed each other, by the necessity of mutual vigilance, than by any remarkable attempts: though as the Austrians were greatly superior to the Spaniards, the motives of their inaction must be attributed to some orders received by Count Traun, who solicited permission to resign the command; and, as his age was more suitable to the peaceful government of Moravia, than the fatigues of a winter campaign, Prince Lobkowitz was ordered to succeed him in the command of the army, who arrived at Bologna on the 12th of September. Prince Lobkowitz was determined to enter immediately on action: though, to deceive the Spaniards, he issued orders as if he intended to take up his winter quarters in the Bolognese: but he suddenly decamped from that neighbourhood, and, on the 24th of September, arrived at Forli: on which the Spaniards abandoned

PART the bridge they had over the river Ronco, being  
 IV. pursued by the Austrians, who cut in pieces 700  
 of them in their retreat. The same day Count  
 1743. Gages broke up from his camp at Rimini, which

the Austrians took possession of on the 25th, while the Spaniards retired, without halting, to Fano, a port town on the gulph of Venice, eighteen miles east of Urbino, and twenty south of Rimini: where they seemed resolved to wait for the Austrians, the country being so greatly covered, that the latter could make but little use of their cavalry, in which their superiority chiefly consisted. Prince Lobkowitz advanced no further than Rimini; on which the Spaniards repossessed themselves of Pesaro, and begun to fortify all the passes of the Foglia, in order to dispute the passage of that river: but the Austrian general remained inactive, and put his troops into quarters; knowing that the Spaniards would venture any desperate engagement, to extricate themselves out of so miserable a country; and that the severity of the winter must greatly diminish their numbers, when they would be obliged to fly before him without hazarding a stroke.

WHILE the Spaniards were in this situation, Prince Lobkowitz took all measures to aggravate this distress, by cutting off all convoys of provisions by land; while five ships, sent, at his request, into the Adriatic, by Admiral Matthews, prevented all subsistence coming to them by sea. These unhappy forces seemed not only lost to their native country, but exposed without provision, without ammunition, without retreat, and without hope; nor could they discover any human prospect how to escape destruction, either by the fatigue of marches, or the want of necessaries,

cessaries, or the superior force of an army well supplied and elated with success. Thus were the Spaniards, at present, obstructed in their Italian expedition: of their armies, one was condemned to waste away at the feet of impassable mountains, only to hear of the misery of their countrymen, whom they were endeavouring to relieve; and the establishment of peace in those regions of which they had projected the conquest. The other, yet more unfortunate, had been successfully transported, only to see the British fleet, which had permitted their passage, preclude their supplies, and hinder their retreat, by blocking up the conjunct fleet of France and Spain in the harbour of Toulon: the condition of Count de Gages was such, as no enemy could wish to be aggravated by new calamities; the Austrians had shut up his troops in a country without provisions, or of which the inhabitants were unwilling to supply them; on one side were neutral states, to which the law of nations barred their entrance; on another the Mediterranean sea, which afforded them only the melancholy prospects of hostile armaments, or sometimes of their own ships falling into the hands of their enemies; behind them were the Austrian troops ready to embarrass their march, intercept their convoys, and receive those whom famine and despair incited to change their masters, and to seek among foreign nations that ease and safety, of which the tyranny of their own government, and the madness of their female monarch, had deprived them. Such was their distress, and so great their diminution, that their general expected only a few months to complete his ruin; and though Count de Gages shewed the genius of an accomplished general, he



**PART** he found his troops must meet destruction with:

**IV.** out the honour of a battle, that they must sink  
 under the fatigue of hungry marches, and be  
 1743- at length devoured by those diseases which toil  
 and penury would inevitably produce; and, to  
 encrease this mortification among the troops,  
 they daily found some additional cause of misun-  
 derstanding, between their general and his Se-  
 rene Highness of Modena: while his Sicilian  
 majesty, whose dominions might most commo-  
 diously afford them succour, and whom all the  
 ties of nature and interest obliged to give them  
 assistance, was awed by the British ships of war,  
 which lay at anchor before his metropolis, and  
 of which the commanders, upon the least suspi-  
 cion of hostilities against the Queen of Hunga-  
 ry, threatened to batter his palaces, and destroy  
 his city: so that he could not dare either to af-  
 ford them refuge in his dominions, nor send his  
 troops to their assistance: which was the most  
 severe affliction to the Spanish queen; who, a-  
 midst all the schemes which her unbounded am-  
 bition formed for the exaltation of her family,  
 found her own son, after receiving a kingdom  
 from her kindness, restrained from supporting  
 her; and reduced to preserve those territories,  
 which she had bestowed upon him, by a-  
 bandoning her, from whom he had received  
 them.

HOWEVER the naval war with Spain had  
 obstructed the conveyance of her treasures, and  
 the succour of her troops; nothing could over-  
 come the invincible spirit of ambition so predo-  
 minant in the Spanish queen; who, if spirit could  
 supply force, would not easily be conquered: she  
 was now assured of assistance, from his Sicilian  
 majesty, early in the ensuing campaign; and,  
 through

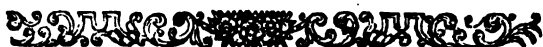
through her absolute ascendancy over the reclu- CHAP.  
five king, the Marquis de Ensenada, the new V.  
prime minister of Spain, transmitted to the court of Versailles, a plan for a more vigorous prosecution of the war, in which it was proposed, 1743.  
“ That France, Spain, and Naples, should enter into a league, offensive and defensive, of which one article should be, not to lay down their arms, till Don Philip was established in Italy. That Spain should declare war against the Queen of Hungary, and send an army into Tuscany, to which the right was forfeited by the design of conquering Lorraine. That the British squadron should be driven out of the Mediterranean, by the united fleets of France and Spain ; and that Savoy should be yielded to France.” As the court of Madrid continued to persist in their projects, they endeavoured to engage all the confederates of France to assist the execution of them ; and, for this purpose, the Emperor received a large remittance from Spain to encourage him in his alliance, and enable him to support an army in the spring, which might keep the Austrians from sending new forces into Italy ; where, by a reinforcement of Neapolitans, it was proposed, to make the army, under Count de Gages, superior to the Austrians commanded by Prince Lobkowitz.





## SECOND DIVISION.

Containing naval transactions, in  
the EAST INDIES, AMERICA,  
and EUROPE.



## CHAPTER I.

Continuation of COMMODORE AN-  
SON'S voyage: the taking of the  
MANILA galleon; transactions at  
CANTON: and the return of the  
CENTURION to ENGLAND.



COMMODORE ANSON arrived CHAP.  
at Macao, in China, on the 12th of I.  
November, with the Centurion, in  
a very leaky condition; but, not- 1743.  
withstanding all his endeavours, he could not  
procure a warrant, from the regency of Can-  
VOL. II. G g g ton,

PART ton, for the refitment of his ship, till the 6th  
IV. of January. The crew, though assisted with a

considerable number of Chinese smiths and carpenters, were not able to get the Centurion properly righted, till the third of March; when it was completed, to the great satisfaction of the commodore, and the general joy of his people; who had been apprehensive of being attacked by the Spaniards, whilst the ship was thus incapacitated for defence. Nor were their fears, of an attack, altogether groundless; for they learnt afterwards, by a Portuguese vessel, that the Spaniards, at Manila, had been informed, that the Centurion was in the Typa, and intended to career there; and that, upon this intelligence, the governor had summoned his council, and proposed, to them, to endeavour to burn her, whilst she was careening: which was an enterprize, that, if properly conducted, might have greatly endangered the Centurion. It was farther reported, that this scheme, was not only proposed, but resolved on; and that a captain of a vessel, had actually undertaken to perform the business, for 40,000 dollars, which he was not to receive unless he succeeded: but the governor, pretending that there was no treasure in the royal chest, insisted that the merchants should advance the money, and their refusing to comply with the demands, disconcerted the whole affair.

AFTER the Centurion was righted, the utmost expedition was used in repairing the foremast, and completing the other articles of her refitment: but it was the beginning of April before they had new rigged the ship, stowed their provisions and water on board, and had fitted her for the sea; and, before this time, the

the Chinese grew very uneasy, and extremely CHAP. I.  
desirous, that the commodore would be gone  
from their coast, either not knowing, or pre-  
tending not to believe, that this was a point he

1743.

was as eagerly set on as they could be. At length, on the 3d of April, two Mandarin boats came on board from Macao, to press him to leave their port; and this having been urged frequently before, though there had been no pretence to suspect the commodore of any affected delays, he, at this last message, answered them in a determined tone, desiring them to give him no further trouble, for he would go when he thought proper, and not sooner: a noble instance of the resolution of this truly British commander, who thus honourably supported the dignity of his king and country, and challenged a respect, for the British flag, in an empire, till then, too arbitrary to pay the least deference to any European! After this rebuke, the Chinese immediately prohibited all provisions from being carried on board the Centurion, and took such care their injunctions should be complied with, that, from thence forwards, nothing could be purchased, at any rate whatever.

THE commodore had got his ship well refitted, his stores replenished, and an additional stock of provisions on board; his crew was somewhat reinforced; for he had entered twenty-three men, during his stay at Macao, of which the greatest part were Lascars, or Indian sailors, and the rest of them Dutch; so that the commodore determined to proceed immediately to sea. On the 6th of April, the Centurion weighed from the Typa, and warped to the southward; by the 15th, she was got into Macao road; and, her whole business being completed by the 19th,

PART she, at three in the afternoon of the same day,

IV. weighed, made sail, and stood to sea.

THE commodore had given out, at Macao,  
 1743. that he was bound to Batavia, and thence to England; and though the westerly monsoon was set in, when that passage is considered as impracticable, yet, by the confidence he had expressed in the strength of his ship, and the dexterity of his hands, he had persuaded, not only his own crew, but the people at Macao likewise, that he proposed to try this unusual experiment; so that there were many letters sent on board the Centurion, by the inhabitants of Canton and Macao, for their friends at Batavia.

BUT the real design of Commodore Anson was of a very different nature. For he supposed, that instead of one annual ship, from Acapulco to Manila, there would be, this year, in all probability, two; since, by being before Acapulco, he had prevented one of them from putting to sea the preceeding season. Ever since his departure from the coast of Mexico, the commodore had resolved, in his own thoughts, to continue his cruise for the Manila galleon, as soon as the Centurion was refitted: and he was now preparing to intercept those returning vessels, off Cape Espiritu Santo, on the island of Samal, which is the first land that they always make at the Philippine islands. As June is generally the month in which they arrive there, the commodore doubted not but he should get to his intended station, time enough to intercept them. Though they were reported to be strong vessels, mounting 44 guns a piece, with 500 hands, and might be expected to return in company; and the Centurion had but 227 hands on board, of which about thirty were boys; yet this disproportion

proportion of strength did not deter the commodore, as he knew his ship to be much better fitted for a sea engagement than theirs; and as he had reason to expect, that his men would exert themselves, after a most extraordinary manner, when they had in view the immense wealth of these Manila galleons.

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IT was incumbent on the commodore, during his continuance at Macao, to keep these views extremely secret; for there being a great intercourse, and a mutual connection of interests, between that port and Manila, he had reason to fear, that, if his designs were discovered, intelligence would be immediately sent to Manila, and measures would be concerted to prevent the galleons from falling into his hands. But, being now at sea, and entirely clear of the coast, he summoned all his people on the quarter-deck, and informed them of his resolution to cruise for the two Manila ships, of whose wealth they were not ignorant: he told them, he should chuse a station, where he could not fail of meeting with them; and though they were stout ships, and full manned; yet, if his own people behaved with their accustomed spirit, he was certain he should prove too hard for them both, and that one of them, at least, could not fail of becoming his prize: he further added, that many ridiculous tales had been propagated about the strength of the sides of these ships, and their being impenetrable to cannon-shot; that these fictions had been principally invented to palliate the cowardice of those who had formerly engaged them; but he hoped, that there were none of those present, weak enough to give credit to so absurd a story: for his own part, he gave them the strongest assurances, that whenever he fell



fell in with them, he would fight them so near, that they should find his bullets, instead of being stopped by one of their sides, should penetrate through them both. This speech, of the commodore, was received with universal joy : since, no sooner had he ended, than the whole crew expressed their approbation, according to naval custom, by three strenuous cheers ; and declared their determination to succeed, or perish, whenever the opportunity presented itself : and firmly relying on the assurances of the commodore, that they should certainly meet with the galleons, the whole crew were too sanguine to doubt a moment of mastering them ; so that they considered themselves, as having these valuable vessels already in their possession.

WHEN the Centurion left the port of Macao, she stood some days, to the westward ; and, on the 1st of May, they saw part of the island of Formosa : and, steering thence to the southward, on the 4th of May, they were in the latitude of the Bashee islands, in 21 deg. 4 m. north. After leaving Botel Tobago Xima, they stood, between the S. and S. W. for Cape Espiritu Santo ; and, on the 20th of May, at noon, they first discovered that cape, which, about four o'clock, they brought to bear S. S. W. near eleven leagues distant. As it was well known that there were centinels placed upon this cape, to make signals to the Acapulco ship, when she first fell in with the land ; the commodore immediately tacked, and ordered the top-gallant sails to be taken in, to prevent being discovered : and, this being the station where it was determined to cruise for the galleons, they kept the cape between the south and the west, and endeavoured to confine themselves between the

the

the latitude of 12 deg. 50 m. and 13 deg. 5 m. CHAP.  
the cape itself lying in 12 deg. 40 m. north, I.  
and in 4 deg. of east longitude from Botel To-  
bago Xima.

1743.

As the month of June was approaching, the crew of the *Centurion* were waiting, each hour, with the utmost impatience, for the happy crisis, which was to ballance the account of all their past calamities: the commodore was in daily expectations of intercepting these opulent galleons, and made all necessary preparations for their reception; hoisting out his long-boat, and lashing her along-side, that the ship might be ready for engaging, if they fell in with the galleons during the night: as, from this time, there was but small employment for the crew, the commodore ordered them, almost every day, to be exercised in working the great guns, and in the use of their small arms; this had been his practice, more or less, at every convenient season, during the whole course of his voyage; and the advantages which he received from it, in his engagement with the galleon, were an ample recompence for all his care and attention. All this time, the commodore was very solicitous to keep at such a distance, from the cape, as not to be discovered: and lay, generally, from ten to fifteen leagues distant; though once, by an indraught of the tide, they were within seven leagues of the land: but it was afterwards known, that, notwithstanding his care, he was frequently seen from the land; and advice of him was sent to Manila, where, though it was at first disbelieved, yet, on reiterated intelligence, the merchants were alarmed, and the governor was applied to; who undertook, the commerce supplying the necessary sums, to fit out a force, consisting

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PART consisting of two ships of thirty-two guns, one

IV. of twenty guns, and two sloops of ten guns each, to attack the Centurion on her station.

1743. With this view, some of these vessels actually weighed; but the principal ship not being ready, and the monsoon being against them, the commerce and the governor disagreed, so that the enterprize was relinquished.

As the month of June advanced, their expectancy and impatience of meeting the galleons increased: however, on the 20th of June, being just a month after gaining their station, they were relieved out of this state of uncertainty; for, at sun-rise, they discovered a sail, from the mast-head, in the S. E. quarter, which spread a general joy through the whole ship; for they had no doubt but this was one of the galleons, and they expected soon to descry the other. They were right in the first part of their suggestion; for this was one of the galleons; but the other, which Commodore Anlon had detained in the port of, Acapulco the preceeding year, instead of returning in company with the other galleon, as was expected, set sail from Acapulco alone, much sooner than usual, and got into the port of Manila, long before the Centurion arrived off Cape Espiritu Santo.

THE ship now in sight, was a rich galleon, called the *Nuestra Signora de Cabadonga*, commanded by General Don Jeronimo de Mentero, a Portuguese, who was the most approved officer, for skill and courage, of any employed in the Manila service: the galleon was much larger than the Centurion, had 550 men on board, and thirty-six guns mounted for action, though she had ports for sixty-four, besides twenty-eight pedereroes in her gunwale, quarters, and tops, each

each of which carried a four pound ball : she was very well furnished with small arms ; and was particularly provided against boarding, both by her close quarters, and by a strong network, of two inch rope, which was laced over her waist, and defended by half pikes. The Centurion was discovered, by the galleon, who might possibly have escaped, had she attempted it ; but the Spaniards received such an account, at Guam, of the weakness of the Centurion, that they proposed to themselves nothing less than the taking her : and, as soon as the Centurion was known to them, the Spanish general, elated by the confidence of his superiority, told his officers, that he did not doubt of having the honour to entertain the British commodore, that day, at his table.

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COMMODORE ANSON instantly made towards the galleon ; and, at half an hour after seven, they were near enough to see her from the deck of the Centurion : at which time the galleon fired a gun, and took in her top-gallant sails, continuing to bear down upon the British commodore ; who hardly believed, what afterwards appeared to be the case, that she knew his ship to be the Centurion, and resolved to fight him.

ABOUT noon, the Centurion was a little more than a league distant from the galleon, and could fetch her wake, so that she could not now escape. Soon after, the galleon haled up her fore-sail, and brought too under top-sails, with her head to the northward, hoisting Spanish colours, and having the Standard of Spain flying at the top-gallant mast-head. Commodore Anson, in the mean time, had prepared all things for an engagement on board the Centurion, and had taken every possible measure, both for the effectual ex-

PART ertion of his small strength, and for avoiding

IV. the confusion and tumult, too frequent in actions  
 of this nature. He picked thirty of his choicest  
 1743. hands and completest marksmen, whom he distributed into his tops, and who fully answered his expectation, by the signal services they performed. As he had not hands enough, remaining, to quarter a sufficient number to each great gun, in the customary manner; he therefore, on his lower tier, appointed only two men to each gun, who were to be solely employed in loading it, whilst the rest of his people were divided into different gangs, of ten or twelve men each, who were continually moving about the decks, to run out and fire such guns as were loaded. By this management, Commodore Anson was enabled to make use of all his guns; and, instead of whole broadsides, with intervals between them, he kept up a constant fire, without intermission; whence he doubted not to procure very signal advantages: for it is customary with the Spaniards to fall down upon the decks, when they see a broadside preparing, and to continue, in that posture, till it is given; after which, they rise again, and, presuming the danger to be for some time over, work their guns, and fire, with great briskness, till another broadside is ready: but the firing gun by gun, in the manner directed by Commodore Anson, rendered this practice of theirs of no utility.

THE Centurion, being thus prepared, and nearing the galleon apace, there happened, a little after noon, several squalls of wind and rain, which often obscured the galleon from their sight; but, whenever it cleared up, the English observed her resolutely lying to. About one o'clock, the Centurion, being within gun-shot of the galleon,

leon, hoisted her broad pendant and colours; and the commodore, perceiving the Spaniards to have neglected clearing their ship till that time, as he saw them throwing cattle and lumber over-board, he gave orders to fire upon them with the chace-guns, to disturb them in their work, and prevent them from completing it; though his general directions had been to withhold the engagement, till they were within pistol-shot. The galleon returned the fire, with two of her stern-chace; and, the Centurion getting her sprit-sail-yard fore and aft, that, if necessary, she might be ready for boarding; the Spaniards did the same, in a bravado. Soon after, the Centurion came a-breast of the galleon, within pistol-shot, keeping to the leeward of her, with a view of preventing her putting before the wind, and gaining the port of Jalapay, from which she was about seven leagues distant. And, now, the engagement began in earnest: the Centurion, for the first half hour, over-reached the galleon, and lay on her bow; where, by the great wideness of his ports, Commodore Anson could traverse almost all his guns upon the galleon; whilst the Spaniards could only bring a part of theirs to bear. Immediately, on the commencement of the action, the mats, with which the galleon had stuffed her netting, took fire, and burnt violently, blazing up half as high as the mizen-top. This accident, caused by the wads sent from the Centurion, threw the Spaniards into the utmost consternation, and also alarmed the British commodore; who feared the galleon would be burnt, and that he might not only be deprived of her treasure, but also suffer by her driving on board the Centurion: however the Spaniards, at last, extricated themselves

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PART from the fire by cutting away the netting, and

IV. tumbling the whole mass, which was in flames, into the sea. All this interval, the Centurion  
 1743. kept her first advantageous position, firing her cannon with great regularity and briskness; whilst, at the same time, the decks of the galleon lay open to her topmen, who, having at their first volley driven the Spaniards from their tops, made prodigious havock with their small arms, killing or wounding every officer, but one, that appeared on the quarter-deck, and wounding, in particular, the general of the galleon himself. Thus the action proceeded at least for half an hour: but then the Centurion lost her superiority, arising from her original situation, and was close along-side the galleon, the Spaniards continuing to fire briskly for near an hour longer; yet, even in this posture, the Spaniards had their decks swept so effectually by grape-shot, and the number of their slain and wounded became so considerable, that they began to fall into great disorder, especially as the general, who was the life of the action, was no longer capable of exerting himself. Their confusion was visible on board the Centurion; for the ships were so near, that some of the Spanish officers were seen running about, with much assiduity, to prevent the desertion of the men from their quarters; but all their endeavours were ineffectual; for after having, as a last effort, fired five or six guns, with more judgment than usual, they yielded up the contest; and, the Spanish colours being singed off the ensign staff, in the beginning of the engagement, the galleon struck the standard at her main-top-gallant mast-head.

Thus

THUS was the Centurion possessed of this valuable prize, with the loss of only two men killed, and a lieutenant and sixteen wounded: the galleon received 150 shot in her hull, many of which were between wind and water; she had sixty-seven men killed in the action, and eighty-four wounded, three of which expired the same night they were taken, and the survivors, being 480, were removed on board the Centurion, except such as were thought proper to be retained for navigating the galleon. The treasure, on board the galleon, consisted of 1,313,843 pieces of eight, and 35,682 ounces of virgin silver, besides some cochineal, and a few other commodities, which were but of an insignificant account, in comparison of the specie; the value of the whole prize, amounting to 313,000*l*.

COMMODORE ANSON appointed the galleon to be a post ship, in the royal service, and gave the command of her to Mr Saumarez, his first lieutenant: on which, the commodore resolved to make the best of his way, with the galleon, for the river of Canton; being, the mean time, fully employed in securing his prisoners, and removing the treasure, from on board the galleon, into the Centurion: though the former was an article which gave the commodore much concern and disquietude; for the prisoners were above double the number of his own people; and some of them, when they were brought on board the Centurion, observing how slenderly she was manned, and the large proportion which the striplings bore to the rest, could not help expressing themselves, with great indignation, to be thus beaten by a handful of boys: however the commodore, with his accustomed humanity, took so much care of the wounded Spanish



**PART** nish general, his officers, and men, that not  
**IV.** one of them died in their confinement.

**1743.** **THE** commodore, with his prize, having stood for the river of Canton, on the 30th of June, got sight of Cape Delangano; the next day, he made the Balhee islands; on the 8th, they discovered the island of Supata; and, on the 11th, having taken on board two Chinese pilots, one for the Centurion, and the other for the prize, they came to an anchor off the city of Macao.

ON the 14th of July, the commodore cast anchor short of the Bocca Tigris, which is a narrow passage, little more than musket-shot over, forming the mouth of the river Ta. On the 15th, the ships were conducted through this passage; and, the next day, the commodore sent his second lieutenant to Canton, with a letter for the Vice-roy; acquainting him, that he had put into the port to shelter himself against the hurricanes, which were then approaching; but, as soon as the monsoon shifted, he should set sail for England: that he soon proposed to repair to Canton, to pay a visit to his excellency; and desired a supply of provisions and stores. The lieutenant was civilly received, and was promised that an answer should be sent, to the commodore, the next day. In the mean time, the commodore permitted several of the Spanish officers to repair to Canton, they engaging their parole to return in two days. When these prisoners arrived at Canton, they were sent for by the regency, who examined them, enquiring particularly by what means they came into the power of so inferior an enemy: on this occasion, the prisoners were honest enough to declare, that as the Kings of Great Britain and Spain were

were at war, they intended to take the Centu-  
rion, but that the event had been contrary to  
their hopes. And being questioned as to their  
usage on board, they frankly acknowledged  
that they had been treated, by the commodore,  
much better than they believed he would have  
been treated by them, had he fallen into their  
hands. This confession, from an enemy, had  
great weight with the Chinese; who, till then,  
though they had revered his military force, had  
yet suspected the morals of the commodore; con-  
sidering him rather as a lawless free-booter, than  
as one commissioned, by the state, for the re-  
venge of public injuries. But they altered their  
opinion, and regarded him as a more important  
person; to which, perhaps, the vast treasure of  
his prize might not a little contribute: the ac-  
quisition of wealth, being a matter greatly  
adapted to the esteem, and reverence, of the  
Chinese nation.

ON the 20th of July, in the morning, three  
Mandarines, with a great number of boats, and  
a vast retinue, came on board the Centurion,  
and delivered, to the commodore, a licence,  
from the Vice-roy, for a daily supply of provi-  
sions, and for pilots to carry the ships up the  
river, as far as the second bar, within thirty  
miles of the city; and, at the same time, deli-  
vered a message, from the Vice-roy, in answer  
to the letter sent by the commodore, importing,  
that the Vice-roy desired to be excused from re-  
ceiving his visit, during the then excessive hot  
weather; because the assembling the Mandarines  
and soldiers, necessary to that ceremony, would  
prove extremely inconvenient and fatiguing;  
but, that in September, when the weather would  
be more temperate, he should be glad to see  
both

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both the commodore himself, and the English captain of the other ship that was with him. As the commodore knew that an express had been dispatched to the imperial court at Pekin, 200 miles up the country, with an account of the Centurion, and her prize, being arrived in the river of Canton; he had no doubt, but the principal motive for postponing this visit was, that the regency at Canton might gain time to receive instructions, about their behaviour, on this unusual affair.

WHEN the Mandarines had delivered their message, they began to talk to the commodore, concerning the duties to be paid by his ships: but he immediately told them, that he would never submit to any demand of that nature; adding, that British ships of war were never treated upon the footing of mercantile vessels; and that his instructions, from the king, his master, forbad him from paying any acknowledgment for his ships harbouring in any port whatever. The Mandarines, being thus cut short on the subject of the duty, said, they had another matter to mention, which was the only remaining one they had in charge: this was, a request, to the commodore, to release the prisoners, he had taken on board the galleon; for that the Vice-roy of Canton, apprehended the Emperor, his master, might be displeased, if he should receive information, that persons, who were his allies, and carried on an extensive commerce with his subjects, were under confinement in his dominions. The commodore was himself extremely desirous to be disburthened of the Spaniards, having, on his first arrival, sent about eighty of them to Macao; and those who remained, being near 400 more, were, on many accounts,

accounts, a great incumbrance to him: however, CHAP. I.  
to inhance the favour, he at first raised some difficulties; but, permitting himself to be prevailed on, he, at last, told the Mandarin, 1743.  
that, to show his readiness in obliging the Vice-roy, he would release the prisoners, whenever the Chinese would order boats to fetch them off. This matter being adjusted, the Mandarines departed; and, on the 28th of July, two Chinese junks were sent from Canton, and carried the prisoners to Macao, who received, from the purser of the Centurion, eight days provisions for their subsistence, during their passage down the river.

THOUGH the ships, in consequence of the permit, found no difficulty in purchasing provisions for their daily consumption; yet it was impossible that the commodore could proceed to England, without laying in a large quantity both of provisions and naval stores for his use, during the voyage; and the procuring this supply, was attended with much perplexity: for the contractors had never taken the least step to comply with their agreement. The commodore, towards the end of September, having discovered the deceit of his contractors, and finding that the Vice-roy had not invited him to an interview, according to his promise, determined to proceed to Canton, and notify his arrival to the Vice-roy; in expectation of procuring an audience, which might enable him to surmount the difficulties he was under. Every thing being prepared; and as it was not only apprehended, but even asserted, that the payment of the customary duties, for the Centurion and her prize, would be demanded, by the regency of Canton, and would be insisted on, previous to their grant-

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PART ing a permission to victual the ship for her future voyage; the commodore, who was resolved  
 IV. never to establish so dishonourable a precedent,  
 1743. took all possible precaution to prevent the Chinese from facilitating the success of their unreasonable pretensions, by having him in their power at Canton. And therefore, the better to secure his ship, and the great treasure on board her, against their projects, he appointed Lieutenant Brett, to be captain of the Centurion, under him, giving him proper instructions for his conduct; directing him, particularly, if he, the commodore, should be detained at Canton, on account of the duties in dispute, to take out the men from the galleon; and, after destroying her, to proceed down the river, through the Bocca Tigris, with the Centurion alone, and to remain, without that entrance, till he received further orders from the commodore.

ON the 13th of October, the commodore was met, on board the Centurion, by all the supercargoes of the English, Danish, and Swedish ships, to accompany him to Canton; for which place he set out, in his barge, the same day, attended by his own boats, and by those of the trading ships, which, on this occasion sent their boats to augment his retinue. The crew, belonging to the commodore's barge, were clothed in an uniform dress, resembling that of the watermen on the Thames; they were in number eighteen, and a coxswain: they had scarlet jackets, and blue silk waistcoats, the whole trimmed with silver buttons; besides silver badges on their jackets and caps. As the commodore passed by Wampo, where the European vessels lay, he was saluted by all of them, but the French; and, in the evening, he arrived safely  
 at

at Canton. The commodore was immediately visited by the principal Chinese merchants, by whose artifices, and the chimerical fears which had prepossessed the supercargoes of the English indiamen, the commodore protracted the time for getting admittance to the Vice-roy; though not without seeing the Chinese, who contracted to furnish his provisions, getting his stores prepared, with the utmost dispatch. When all was completed, and wanted only to be shipped, which was about the 24th of November, at which time the N. E. monsoon was set in, the commodore resolved to demand an audience of the Vice-roy, as he was persuaded that, without this ceremony, the grant of a permission to take his stores on board would meet with great difficulty. Therefore, on the 24th of November, the commodore sent one of his officers to the Mandarin, who commanded the guard of the principal gate of the city of Canton, with a letter directed to the Vice-roy. When this letter was delivered to the Mandarin, he received the officer, who brought it, very civilly, and took down the contents of it in Chinese; promising, that the Vice-roy should be immediately acquainted with it: but told the officer, it was not necessary he should wait for an answer, because a message would be sent to the commodore himself.

Two days after, a fire broke out in the suburbs of Canton, which consumed a hundred shops, and eleven streets full of warehouses, and threatened the entire destruction of the city. In this general confusion, the Vice-roy came thither; and Commodore Anson was sent to, and intreated to afford his assistance, being told that he might take any measures, he should think

PART most prudent, in the present emergency. Upon

IV. this message, the commodore carried with him  
 { about forty of his people ; who, in the sight of  
 1743. the whole city, exerted themselves after so extraordinary a manner, as, in that country, was altogether without example : for, behaving with the boldness and agility peculiar to sailors, they were rather animated than deterred by the flames, and falling buildings, among which they wrought ; and, by their resolution and activity, the fire was soon extinguished, to the general amazement of the Chinese ; of whom, many thousands, stood idle and terrified spectators, in such consternation and fear, that their city would have been buried in one total conflagration, before they had either the sense or spirit to check the violence of the flames. This resolute behaviour, of the English, became the general subject of conversation amongst the Chinese ; and, the next morning, many of the principal inhabitants waited on the commodore, to thank him for his assistance ; frankly owning, to him, that he had preserved their city from being totally consumed, as they could never have extinguished the fire of themselves. Soon after a message came to the commodore, from the Vice-roy, appointing the 30th of November for an audience ; which sudden resolution of the Vice-roy, in a matter that had been so long agitated in vain, was entirely owing to the signal services performed by the commodore and his people at the fire, of which the Vice-roy had been an eye-witness.

THE commodore made the necessary preparations against the day appointed for his audience ; and engaged Mr Flint, an English gentleman belonging to the factory, that spoke Chinese perfectly

fectly well, to be his interpreter ; who repeated with great boldness, and doubtless with exactness, what ever was given him in charge, a part which no Chinese linguist would have performed with any tolerable fidelity. At ten o'clock in the morning, on the day appointed, a Mandarin came to the commodore, to let him know that the Vice-roy was prepared, and expected him ; on which the commodore, and his retinue, immediately set out. As soon as he entered the outer gate of the city, he found a guard, of 200 soldiers, ready to receive him ; these attended him to the great parade, before the imperial palace, where the Vice-roy then resided. In this parade, a body of troops, to the number of ten thousand, were drawn up under arms, who made a very fine appearance ; being all of them new clothed for this ceremony. The commodore, with his retinue, having passed through the middle of them, was then conducted to the great hall of audience, where he found the Vice-roy, seated under a rich canopy, in the imperial chair of state ; with all his council of Mandarines attending. Here there was a vacant seat prepared for the commodore, in which he was placed on his arrival. He was ranked the third in order from the Vice-roy, there being above him only the two chiefs, of the law and the treasury, who, in the Chinese government, have precedence of all military officers. When the commodore was seated, he addressed himself to the Vice-roy, by his interpreter, and began with reciting the various methods he had formerly taken to procure an audience ; adding, that he imputed the delays he had met with, to the insincerity of those he had employed, and that he had therefore no other means left, than to send, as he had done,  
his



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his own officer with a letter to the gate. On the mention of this, the Vice-roy interrupted the interpreter, and bid him assure the commodore, that the first knowledge they had of his being at Canton, was from that letter. The commodore then proceeded, and told him, that the subjects of the King of Great Britain, trading to China, had complained to him, the commodore, of the vexatious impositions both of the merchants and inferior custom-house officers, to which they were frequently necessitated to submit, by reason of the difficulty of getting access to the Mandarines, who alone could grant them redress: that it was his duty, as an officer of the King of Great Britain, to lay before his excellency these grievances of the British subjects, which he hoped his excellency would take into consideration, and give orders, that hereafter there should be no just reason for complaint. Here the commodore paused, and waited, some time, in expectation of an answer; but, nothing being said, he asked Mr Flint if he was certain the Vice-roy understood what he had urged; the interpreter told him he was certain it was understood, but he believed no reply would be made to it. The commodore having dispatched this, and some other business relating to the ship *Hastingsfield*, with which the officers of the East India company had entrusted him, he entered on his own affairs; acquainting the Vice-roy, that the proper season was already set in for returning to Europe, and that he wanted only a licence to ship off his provisions and stores, which were all ready; and, that as soon as this should be granted him, and he should have gotten his necessaries on board, he intended to leave the river of Canton, and to make the best

best of his way for England. The Vice-roy re-  
plied to this, that the licence should be immedi-  
ately issued, and that every thing should be or-  
dered on board the following day. And, find-  
ing the commodore had nothing farther to insist  
on, the Vice-roy continued the conversation for  
some time, acknowledging, in very civil terms,  
how much the Chinese were obliged to him for  
his signal services at the fire, and owning that  
he had saved the city from being destroyed :  
then observing that the Centurion had been a  
good while on their coast, he concluded his dis-  
course, by wishing the commodore a prosperous  
voyage to Europe. After which, the commo-  
dore, thanking him for his civility and assistance,  
took his leave, highly satisfied with his reception,  
and that he had succeeded in establishing an au-  
thentic precedent, by which the British ships of  
war are, for the future, exempted from all de-  
mands of duty in any of the ports of China.  
As soon as the commodore was out of the hall  
of audience, he was much importuned to enter  
a neighbouring apartment, where there was an  
entertainment provided ; but finding, on en-  
quiry, that the Vice-roy himself was not to be  
present, he declined the invitation, and departed,  
attended in the same manner as at his arrival :  
only, on his leaving the city he was saluted by  
three guns, which are as many as, in that coun-  
try, are ever fired on any ceremony.

IN pursuance of the promises of the Vice-roy,  
the provisions were begun to be sent on board  
the day succeeding the audience ; and, four days  
after, the commodore embarked, at Canton,  
for the Centurion. The preparations for putting  
to sea were pursued with so much vigilance, and  
were so soon completed, that, on the 7th of  
December,

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PART IV. December, the Centurion and her prize unmoored, and stood down the river; they passed thro' the Bocca Tigris, on the 10th; and, on the 1743. 12th, anchored before the town of Macao.

WHILST the ships lay at Macao, the Portuguese merchants finished their purchase of the galleon, for which they refused to give more than 6,000 dollars; this was greatly short of her value, but the impatience of the commodore to get to sea, to which the merchants were no strangers, prompted them to insist on these unequal terms. The commodore was sufficiently informed, by the English at Canton, to conjecture, that the war with Spain was still continued; and that probably the French might engage in the assistance of Spain, before he could arrive in Great Britain: and therefore, knowing that no intelligence could come to Europe of the prize he had taken, and the treasure he had on board, till the return of the merchantmen from Canton, he was resolved to make all possible expedition in getting back, that he might be himself the first messenger of his own good fortune, and thereby prevent any projects for intercepting him: for these reasons, the commodore, to avoid all delay, accepted of the sum offered for the galleon; and she being delivered to the merchants on the 15th of December, the Centurion, the same day, got under sail, on her return to England. On the 3d of January 1744, she came to an anchor at Prince's island, in the streights of Sunda; and continued there, wooding and watering, till the 8th; when she weighed, and stood for the Cape of Good Hope; where, on the 11th of March, she anchored in Table-bay. The commodore, during his stay at the cape, entered about forty Dutch

Dutch sailors to strengthen his crew ; and having, by the 3d of April, completed his water and provision, he, on that day, weighed and put to sea. The 19th of April they saw the island of St Helena, which however they did not touch at, but stood on their way. By the 12th of June they got sight of the Lizard ; and the 15th in the evening, to their infinite joy, they came safe to an anchor at Spithead, having spent three years and nine months in the circum-navigation of the globe.

NEVER did the arrival of any naval commander, occasion such a general joy, throughout the whole British dominions, as the return of Commodore Anson ; who was surrounded with every joyful mark of distinction by the populace ; he was graciously received by that monarch, whose dignity he had so gloriously supported, in the regions of the East ; he was soon promoted, by the united voice of his country, to the honours of the flag ; and afterwards obtained the noblest compensation, his royal master could confer, for his eminent services, by creating him a peer, and giving him a seat in the most illustrious assembly upon earth. The treasure, was conducted from Portsmouth, to the tower of London, in thirty-two waggons ; and made a magnificent entry thro' the principal streets of the metropolis, guarded by the whole crew, and preceded by the officers, with swords drawn, musick playing, and colours flying, particularly the superb standard of Spain belonging to the prize. Thus terminated this memorable expedition, to the immortal honour of Commodore Anson ; the enriching of his brave surviving sailors ; and the general satisfaction, of a nation, ever fond of conferring honours and commendation, on bravery and merit.

PART THE treasure taken from on board the Centuri-

IV. on, and deposited in the tower of London, amount-

to 407,000 *l.*; this was independent of the ships

1743. and merchandize, which the enemy either

burnt or destroyed; and which, by the most

reasonable estimation, could not amount to so

little as 600,000 *l.* more. Hence it appears,

that the total damage done the Spaniards, by

this Squadron, doubtless exceeded a million ster-

ling: to which, if there be added the great ex-

pendence of the court of Madrid in fitting out Ad-

miral Pizarro, and in paying the additional

charges in America, incurred on account of

Commodore Anson, together with the loss of

their men of war; the aggregate of all these

articles, will be a most exorbitant sum: and is

the strongest conviction of the utility of this expe-

dition; which, though attended with such nu-

merous disadvantages, proved extremely preju-

dicial to the Spaniards, and strongly evinced

this important truth, "That though prudence,

"intrepidity, and perseverance united, are not

"exempted from the disappointments of adverse

"fortune; yet, in a long series of transactions,

"they usually rise superior to such obstructions,

"and, in the end, rarely fail of proving suc-

"cessful."





## CHAPTER II.

The expedition, of COMMODORE KNOWLES, against LA GUIRA, and PORTO CAVALLO: and other naval transactions in AMERICA. Fray at HIERES: and other naval transactions in EUROPE. With a computation of the profit and loss of the war, between GREAT BRITAIN and SPAIN.

**A**FTER the departure of Admiral Vernon from Jamaica, the Spaniards were little apprehensive of having their American provinces dismembered. Though the British fleet was commanded by Sir Chaloner Ogle, an officer worthy of this important trust; and though the admiral was disengaged from those difficulties, which had retarded the vigour and spirit of his predecessor, by a divided command; yet he was deterred from personally attempting any material enterprize, because the Spanish squadron, under Admiral de Torres, still continued

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at rhe Havanna, which was more formidable than the British squadron, and more capable of acting offensively : The Spanish admiral ~~was~~ also inactive ; and was more intent on the preservation of Cuba, and the defence of Vera Cruz, than on invading the British settlements, or destroying the new colony of Rattan, which met with no molestation, and seemed every way answerable to the expectations that had been formed of its utility to the British nation, and of its prejudice to the Spaniards.

HOWEVER Sir Chaloner Ogle was determined, early in the year, to commence some attack on the Spanish continent, which might not require any great diminution of his squadron at Jamaica ; where it was necessary to keep a sufficient force, to protect the trade, and secure the island from any insults that it might probably receive from the Spanish admiral. Sir Chaloner recollected that Admiral Vernon, on his arrival in the West Indies, had detached Capt. Waterhouse, with only two ships of sixty guns and one of fifty, to make an attempt on La Guira, and Porto Cavallo, on the coasts of Caraccas ; and, though the attack was then unsuccessful, Sir Chaloner Ogle imagined, if he attempted a second time, the destruction of those ports, he might be well justified by the example of that admiral whose confidence he had shared, and whose judgment and experience he ~~could~~ <sup>thought</sup> to be equalled by nothing but his resolution and bravery. Accordingly Sir Chaloner Ogle, in February, ordered Capt. Knowles, commander of the Suffolk of seventy guns, who was well acquainted with the Spanish coast, to take under his command the Burford of seventy guns, the Assistance, Norwich, and Advice of fifty guns, the Scarborough of twenty guns,

guns, and three sloops, and to proceed to Antigua, where he was to be joined by the *Eltham* of forty, and the *Lively* of twenty guns; and with this squadron, to make an attempt on La Guira and Porto Cavallo. Commodore Knowles, with these eight men of War, and three sloops, having 2,300 sailors and marines, with 400 of Dalzell's regiment on board, sailed from Antigua, on the 12th of February, and, after touching at St Christopher's, proceeded to La Guira: but the governor of Caraccas had received intelligence of this expedition, almost two months before, and neglected nothing that tended to his security, by erecting new batteries, and augmenting the garrisons with a numerous body of Indians, Mulattoes, and Negroes; besides, he had prevailed on the Dutch governor of Curacao, an island of the lesser Antilles, about fifty leagues north of the coast of Caraccas, to supply him with a considerable quantity of ammunition.

On the 17th of February, Commodore Knowles, with his squadron, arrived within sight of La Guira; and began the attack about twelve at noon; which was carried on with great spirit, and opposed with equal resistance. As there was a great swell, the ships could not approach any nearer than within a mile of the town, which made it impossible to land the soldiers; but all the ships behaved with resolution. At the beginning, the Spanish flag was shot down, which was soon hoisted again; some considerable breaches were made in the fortifications; the churches were entirely demolished; and a great number of houses destroyed. There were only three ships in the harbour, and some boats were manned from the squadron, either to cut out the ships, or set them on fire; but could not succeed.



PART succeed. The attack continued till almost eight

IV. at night; and though the Spanish magazine  
 1743. blew up, yet the darkness of the night put an end  
 to the engagement. The Burford, Norwich,  
 Eltham, and Assistance, received so much hurt  
 as entirely disabled them from keeping the  
 line of battle, and continuing the attack; on  
 which they were ordered directly to Curacoa to  
 refit. The Suffolk received 146 shot, the other  
 ships were considerably damaged; so that the  
 attempt miscarried, after the loss of one lieute-  
 nant, and ninety-two men killed, and 308 wound-  
 ed; and, among the latter, was, the brave Capt.  
 Lushington, commander of the Burford, who  
 had his thigh taken off by a chain-shot, and ex-  
 pired at Curacoa, in the governor's house, two  
 hours after he was carried ashore; whose loss was  
 highly regretted, as he was an accomplished offi-  
 cer, of equal honour and merit; of distinguished  
 bravery and humanity. Though the Spaniards  
 had little reason to be elated; their town and for-  
 tifications being greatly prejudiced, with the loss  
 of 700 men.

COMMODORE KNOWLES, having refitted his  
 squadron at Curacoa, was determined the Spani-  
 ards should feel the effects of his visit: and, as  
 he was now reinforced by some Dutch volunteers,  
 who had been injured by the Spaniards, he re-  
 solved to attack Porto Cavallo: though the  
 Spaniards had put this town in a good posture of  
 defence, having upwards of 1,200 seamen, be-  
 longing to the ships and galleys, in the harbour;  
 and the factors, companies servants, gunners, and  
 soldiers, were about 300 men more; besides  
 about 4,000 Indians, Mulattoes, and Blacks.  
 Commodore Knowles accordingly set sail from  
 Curacoa, on the 20th of March, intending to  
 have

have stretched over directly for Porto Cavallo; CHAP. but, by reason of a strong lee current, it was the II. 15th of April before he could come to an anchor, with his Squadron, under the keys of Barbarat, 1743. a little to the eastward of that place. The commodore, taking a view of the situation of the Spaniards, saw twelve of their smallest ships, and three galleys, hauled up to the head of the harbour, out of gun-shot; and two large ones, one of sixty, and another of forty guns, moored close over to the other shore, as there was not depth of water for them to go up the harbour. One ship was laid across the channel, in the mouth of the harbour, ready to sink, to prevent any entrance, with a chain from the castle to her stern, and another from her head to the main; where the Spaniards had lately erected three fascine batteries, which extended a considerable length. On a low point, called Ponta Brava, were two other new fascine batteries, one of twelve guns, the other of seven; but Commodore Knowles, perceiving they were ill designed, and might easily be flanked, thought it would be no difficult matter to render himself master of them; and that, if the attempt succeeded, the guns of both might be made use of against the castle. Accordingly it was agreed, at a general consultation held the next morning, to send in two ships, in the afternoon, to cannonade those batteries, and to land the volunteers, with about 400 seamen, the detachment of Dalzell's regiment, all the marines, and the Dutch volunteers, to take possession, after the ships had silenced them, their retreat being securely guarded by the Assistance man of war, which lay within pistol-shot of the shore. The Lively and Eleham, that were sent in, and cannonaded the batteries, made them quiet by sun set;

**PART** set; and by dark all firing had ceased on both

**IV.** sides: when the forces, consisting of 1,200 men,

**1743.** sailors and soldiers, landed, under the command

of Major Lucas; and on their march, which was all the way on a beach by the water-side, the commodore accompanied them in his boat. About eleven o'clock, the van seized one of the fascine batteries; but the Spanish centinel, firing off his musket, gave an alarm to the garrison, and the other batteries: on which two guns were fired from the fascine batteries, which put the forces into disorder; who, not observing the proper watch word, fired at one another: this put them in such great confusion, that the land officers called out to cast off their muskets, stoop, and run, which they did, with the utmost precipitation; each man taking his comrade for a Spaniard: nor did they recover from this shameful fright and disorder, till they found themselves in security on board the ships. On the 21st, a general consultation of officers was held, wherein, consideration being had of the late miscarriage of the seamen and land forces against the fascine batteries, it was resolved to form one general attack, with all the ships and forces, against the castle and fascine batteries. In pursuance of this resolution, on Sunday the 24th, before noon, a small breze springing up, the commodore making the signal, weighed, and ran down in the order agreed on: the Assistance, Burford, Suffolk, and Norwich, to batter the castle; and the Scarborough, Lively, and Eltham, against the two fascine batteries. They began cannonading about eleven o'clock, and continued till past nine at night, with great obstinacy on both sides. The Spaniards sometimes slackened their fire, good execution being done upon them in dif-

dismounting their guns, beating several embra-  
sures into one, and silencing the fascine batteries: CHAP. II.  
but, as night came on, they grew brisker in their  
fire, and did more mischief; some of the 1743.  
ships having expended all their ammunition;  
others, the greatest part; and most of them  
being so shattered in their masts and rigging, as  
scarce to be able to set a sail; the commodore  
made the signal to cut; and, after the loss of  
200 men, went and anchored about a random  
shot distance. During the cannonading, the  
Spaniards had sunk the ship that lay in the mouth  
of the harbour, which effectually stopped up the  
channel. The next morning the Squadron weigh-  
ed, and got again under the keys of Barbarat,  
to refit; and, in the evening, were joined by  
the Advice, which had lost company three days  
after they had sailed from Curacao. On the  
28th, at a general consultation, it was agreed,  
that the Squadron was no longer in a condition  
to undertake any enterprize against the Spani-  
ards: upon which the commodore sent away  
the station ships to their respective stations; and,  
after an exchange of prisoners, with the governor  
of Porto Cavallo, the commodore, with the other  
ships, returned to Jamaica.

THE short absence of the station ships from  
Antigua, encouraged the Spanish privateers to  
act with great audacity, and one of them even  
ventured so far, as to land part of her crew on  
the east end of St Christopher's, and carried off  
thirty-two negroes, belonging to Lieutenant-  
General Flaming; however, they never attempt-  
ed to retaliate the invasion made by Commodore  
Knowles; and both the British and Spanish sqa-  
drons remained, for the rest of the year, inactive  
in the ports of Cuba and Jamaica: though the

PART British cruizers and privateers were successful

IV. in making a considerable number of valuable prizes.

1743. ON the 17th of April, Capt. Tucker, in the Fowey man of war, on his cruize off Cape Corientes, about twenty leagues on the west of Cuba, took the San Joseph el Desiderio, a register ship, commanded by Joseph d'Orosio, of 200 ton, twelve guns, and seventy men, with a cargo computed, by the Spaniards, to be worth 100,000*l.* bound from Cadiz to La Vera Cruz.

ON the 2d of June, the St Albans, on her cruize, about nine leagues to windward of Carthagena, took a large Spanish settee, called the Nuestra Senora de Monferrate, of eighteen carriage guns and twenty swivels, having near 200 men on board, of which fifty-seven were ecclesiastics: who at first made a sign of resistance, by firing several shot at the man of war; but the vessel was soon run on shore, to give the people an opportunity of escaping, which most of them did: however, the St Albans got the vessel off, and she proved a considerable prize.

ON the 19th of June, Lord Bamff, who commanded the Hastings man of war, stationed at Virginia, on his cruize off the Azores, took a French polacre, called Le St Jean, bound from La Vera Cruz, with 1,300,000 pieces of eight, registered at Cadiz. And, on the 23d of July, his lordship took a Spanish privateer, called the Nuestra del Rosaria St Antonio y las Animas, of ten carriage guns and twenty swivels, and seventy-four men, commanded by Don Alexo Gallardo, of St Domingo, from which place she had been out about six months, but only fifteen days from Cape Francois.

CAPT.

CAPT. BARNABY, in the Litchfield man of war, on his cruize off Porto Rico, in the month of September, took and destroyed four Spanish privateers, burnt a sloop in Aguada bay, and demolished a battery on shore, which the sloop had got under, of four guns; after which he landed some men, with an officer, who spiked up the guns, burnt the carriages and guard-houses, and brought off the colours, in the presence of a multitude of Spaniards; of whom the English were supposed to have killed about 200, and with the loss of only one man.

CHAP. II.  
1743.

SOME privateers, fitted out at St Christopher's, were very active and successful; and the Spaniards lost, this year, in America, no less than ninety-five vessels, of which a considerable number were valuable prizes.

GENERAL OGLETHORPE, since the invasion from Augustine, had put the colony of Georgia in so defensible a condition, that the Spaniards were intimidated from renewing their late attempt: and his excellency, after establishing the strictest amity with the neighbouring Indians, leaving his government in such excellent security, embarked for England; and arrived in London on the 28th of September; where he met with a most gracious reception from his royal master, and the trustees of the colony: nor was he long detained from those military promotions, so deservedly due to his distinguished merit, and eminent services. But the inhabitants of Georgia, in the absence of their governor, found they had lost the only conservator of their rights and properties; and this loss seemed to be inestimable, as they never expected the return of so worthy a commander; whose paternal love for the colony, that had sprung up and flourished beneath his

PART protection, justly entitled him to the character  
 IV. he had obtained, as being the public guardian  
 of the inhabitants, as well as governor of the  
 1743. country.

SIR CHARLES WAGER, Admiral of the White, and Philip Cavendish, Esq; Admiral of the Blue, being both deceased, his Britannic majesty, on the 9th of August, filled up the vacancies in the royal navy, by appointing Sir John Norris, Knt; Admiral of the Red; John Balchen, Esq; Admiral of the White; Thomas Matthews, Esq; Vice-Admiral of the Red; Nicholas Haddock, Esq; Vice-Admiral of the White; Sir Chaloner Ogle, Knt; Vice-Admiral of the Blue; James Steuart, Esq; Rear-Admiral of the Red; Richard Lestock, Esq; Rear-Admiral of the White, and Sir Charles Hardy, Knt; Rear-Admiral of the Blue.

As the French were expediting a considerable armament at Brest, a fleet, of twelve men of war, was ordered, in the summer, to rendezvous at Spithead, under the command of Sir John Norris; but as no intelligence arrived that the French squadron was in readiness for the sea, Sir John Norris did not take the command of these ships till the beginning of the next year, when the squadron was augmented, and proceeded to prevent the intended invasion from Dunkirk.

THE naval armaments, in the Mediterranean, continued in the same situation, as at the conclusion of the preceeding year: the fleet under Admiral Matthews remaining still at the isles of Hieres, to prevent the French and Spanish fleet from sailing out of Toulon; which, as it was of the highest consequence to their affairs in Italy, it was apprehended they would speedily attempt; especially as they had been making constant preparations

parations to equip the conjunct squadrons, in the most advantageous manner, either for an engagement or an escape. While Admiral Matthews thus lay at anchor in the bay of Hieres, some of his sailors, on the 10th of April, went on shore, for refreshments, to the little town of Hieres, eight miles east of Toulon; but, the French garrison refusing them entrance into the town, a scuffle ensued: the governor of Provence sent a reinforcement of 600 men; and, as the English were assisted from the fleet, the fray was not terminated before 30 French and 120 English were killed: though the French governor afterwards acquainted Admiral Matthews, that, as he knew it was not his fault, he had represented the quarrel in such a light, to the French ministry, as he hoped would prevent any ill consequences. The conjunct squadron continued in Toulon, till the beginning of the ensuing year; and nothing afterwards happened between the French and English, on the coast of Provence, till the departure of the Spanish squadron, under the protection of the French, which they effected early in the ensuing year: though Admiral Matthews took all possible care, by the prudent disposition of his cruisers, to augment the distress of the Spanish army in Italy, by intercepting their supplies; in which the British cruisers acted with equal vigilance and success: while the admiral frequently attended the court of Turin, in his ministerial character, and to regulate the stations of his cruising ships, in the most serviceable situation, for the security of Italy, and the preservation of the British trade.

On the 19th of February, Capt. Martin, in the Ipswich, together with the Revenge, and Ann Fire-ship, went into Ajaccio, a port town in



**PART** in the island of Corsica, fifty three leagues south

**IV.** of Genoa ; where lay the St Isidore, a Spanish

ship of war, of seventy guns, which had been

**1743.** there almost a year. Capt. Martin summoned

M. de Lage, the Spanish commander, to deliver

up the St Isidore ; and, upon his refusal, sent a

broad-side to the Spaniards, which they returned :

but the Spanish commander being wounded, and

perceiving he could not avoid being taken, set

his ship on fire ; which, about an hour after, blew

up with fifty of her men ; the rest of the crew,

being about 200, escaping on shore.

**CAPT. AMBROSE**, commander of the *Rupert*

of sixty guns, continued to act with his usual vi-

gilance : and, on the 1st of March, the *Rupert*,

and *Feverham*, of forty guns, commanded by

Capt. Hughes, pursued a barcolongo into the

bay of Almeria, in the province of Granada ;

which they took with 1,000 quintals of lead for

musket-ball, and 300 pieces of timber, for the

use of the Spanish artillery. They afterwards

went up to the town of Vineros, on the coast of

Valencia, where they run on shore a Spanish

vessel, and burnt both ship and cargoe, consist-

ing of corn, calavances, beans, oil and pork,

for the use of the Spanish fleet at Toulon. The

men of war then sent the master of a French

tartane, which was in the bay, to acquaint the

inhabitants, unless they ransomed the town, it

would be beat about their ears. The inhabitants

sent word, that, in a time limited, an answer

should be given : but, in the interim, they ac-

quainted the intendant of the province, with the

situation of affairs ; who ordered 200 soldiers to

prevent the sailors from landing. The soldiers

on their arrival, would not suffer the inhabitants

to ransom the town, but obliged them to send a

defiance

defiance to the captains of the men of war: CHAR, who, thereupon, immediately fired upon the town; II. which they continued to do all night. In the morning, the wind changing, the men of war were obliged to get out of the bay; but sent the master of the French tartane, into the town, to know what damage had been committed; who soon brought word, that the tower, and great part of the principal church, were beaten down, and most of the houses demolished or damaged, to the amount of 50,000 dollars; besides the destroying of 30 settees, which had been hauled up near the town for security. Capt. Ambrose and Capt. Hughes afterwards visited several other ports, on the coast of Spain, and took out of several harbours no less than sixteen ships, without the loss of one man. 1743.

CAPT. WYNDHAM in the Monmouth, and Capt. Cockburne in the Medway, with a frigate of twenty guns, being stationed off the Canaries, on the 20th of May, attacked the town of Santo Cruz, in the island of Gomera; but, after a smart cannonading on both sides, the men of war, finding it impracticable to land their men, stood off to sea, having received but an inconsiderable damage; though the Spaniards had the greater part of the town, and three forts entirely demolished. The men of war continued their cruise with good success; and, on 12th of May, 150 leagues west from the Lizard, took the St Michael, a Spanish privateer belonging to Bilboa, of 18 carriage guns, besides swivels, and 126 men, commanded by Lorencus Borner, a Dunkirker, and several of the crew were also subjects of France. The Monmouth, returned to her station; and, on the 8th of August, about twenty leagues from Teneriffe,

**PART** Teneriffe, took a Spanish ship of 300 ton, four-  
**IV.** teen guns, and 110 men, bound from Cadiz to  
 La Vera Cruz, with a cargo consisting of 800  
 1743. bales of dry goods, sixty-six ton of quicksilver,  
 fifty ton of iron, some wax, saffron, oil and  
 wine; all which, exclusive of the quicksilver,  
 was valued at 100,000*l*. and carried into the  
 Downs.

**CAPT. GEARY**, commander of the Squirrel  
 man of war, cruising off the Maderas, on the  
 29th of January, in company with the Mistake  
 sloop, which was a prize he had before taken  
 and manned, burnt a Spanish privateer sloop,  
 called the St Elmo, on the shore of a little vil-  
 lage, called Paul, near the west end of the island  
 of Tonshall. On the 10th of February, Capt  
 Geary, in the latitude of 36 deg. 59 m. north,  
 Madeira bearing south ninety-two leagues dis-  
 tance, discovered a vessel, which he came up with  
 and took the next day; when the prize proved  
 to be a French ship, called the Pierre Joseph,  
 hired by the Spaniards at Cadiz, and bound from  
 La Vera Cruz and the Havanna to that port; as  
 was confessed by some of her officers, for her  
 papers were all thrown overboard: the supercar-  
 goe, and several of the passengers, were Spani-  
 ards in disguise, who pretended to have been  
 bound to Mississippi: but the master was a  
 Frenchman, who acknowledged he had no in-  
 terest in the cargo, which belonged entirely to  
 the Spaniards, and consisted of seventy-three  
 chests of silver, five bales of cochineal, fifty-seven  
 of indigo, one case of vanel, sixty of sugar, and  
 3,500 hides. The ship was brought into the  
 Downs, and, in clearing, several caskets of  
 jewels, and a great quantity of dollars, were  
 found concealed in the ballast; and the prize was  
 so

*Engaged in the late General War.*

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b, valuable, that the share of each fore-mast man CHAP.  
amounted to 150*l*. II.

THE Romney, of fifty guns, commanded by Capt. Greenville, on the 22d of February, chased and took a large register ship, off Faro, on the coast of Portugal, called the Rosario el Sacramento, bound from La Vera Cruz to Cadiz, laden chiefly with cochineal, and some chests of silver, computed to be worth 120,000*l*. which was carried into Gibraltar. 1743.

ON the 29th of May, the Portmahon man of war, commanded by the Honourable Capt. Henry Aylmer, in latitude 50 deg. 16 m. north, fell in with a Spanish privateer, called the Santa Theresa de Jesus, belonging to St Sebastian, of 16 carriage guns, and 147 men, many of whom, as well as Francis Bonnet their commander, were Frenchmen: the privateer endeavoured to escape; but, after maintaining a running fight from five till ten in the morning, she struck to the Portmahon, who had one man wounded, and the Spaniards had ten men killed and fourteen wounded in the engagement; after which, the privateer was carried into Bristol.

THE English made several other considerable captures: and the Spaniards were equally successful in the privateering part of the war; though they met with no particular prizes, of equal value to some of their register ships, which fell into the hands of the English. This year the Spaniards took 136 British prizes in the European seas, and 26 in America, being 262 in all, valued at 567,000*l*. The British men of war, and privateers, took 51 Spanish vessels in Europe, and 95 in America, in all 146, computed to be worth 438,000*l*. which, added to 313,000*l*. the value of the Acapulco prize, taken by Commodore

PART Anson, makes 754,000*l.* so that the ballance of

IV. the naval war, for the captures of this year, was  
 184,000*l.* in favour of the English. The whole  
 1743. loss sustained by the Spaniards, since the com-  
 mencement of the war, to the conclusion of the  
 present year, was 657 ships, estimated, by the  
 lowest computation, at 2,585,000*l.* and this  
 being added to 1,564,000*l.* for the damages  
 done to their fortifications, by Admiral Vernon  
 in the West Indies, and the destruction of their  
 merchandize and shipping, by Commodore An-  
 son in the South Seas, will make the whole loss,  
 on the part of Spain, to amount, on the 31st of  
 December, 1743, to 4,149,000*l.* The Spani-  
 ards had taken, since the beginning of the war,  
 664 British vessels, valued at 2,324,000*l.* which,  
 together with 50,000*l.* the value of the British  
 goods and effects seized in Spain, on the procla-  
 mation of the war, amounted to 2,374,000*l.* so  
 that, at the conclusion of this year, there was  
 a ballance of 1,775,000*l.* in favour of the Eng-  
 lish.





## CHAPTER III.

Transactions previous to the sailing of the FRENCH and SPANISH squadrons from TOULON: their engagement with ADMIRAL MATTHEWS in the MEDITERRANEAN; the consequences of this engagement: censure on ADMIRAL DE COURT; disputes between ADMIRAL MATTHEWS and VICE-ADMIRAL LESTOCK; particularly, enquiry into their conduct; and the determination of that affair, by the sentences pronounced, by a court martial, on the two principal commanders, and several of the officers, concerned in the engagement.

AS the Spanish squadron continued to be blocked up, by Admiral Matthews, in the port of Toulon; the court of Madrid grew solicitous with the French ministry to exert their  
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PART. maritime strength, and rather endeavour to conduct Admiral Navarro, under their protection, into some harbour of Spain, than to suffer his squadron to rot inactively away, without contributing the least service to his king, or occasioning any prejudice to the enemies of his country. The French had delayed giving the Spaniards an opportunity of extricating themselves from their confinement, as long as was consistent both with their interest and policy, which are generally connected: but, as the French had thrown off the vizor, at the battle of Dettingen, they were now determined, more openly, to give the Spaniards assistance; nor endeavour, any longer, to conceal their enmity against the British monarchy: for which purpose they had been industriously augmenting, and refitting, their naval armaments; both at Brest and Toulon, to have every thing prepared, ready against the expected rupture with the British nation.

THOUGH it was evidently the interest of France, to promote the success of the Spanish army in Italy; yet the court of Versailles had the artifice, in the last private treaty between the two crowns, to have it stipulated, "That France should receive an equivalent, from Spain, for any expence she might be at; or hazard she might run, in supporting the pretensions of Don Philip:" and this last motive seemed to have been the most prevailing, upon the ministry of France, when they consented to the junction of the squadrons, and to their venturing a battle with the British fleet.

THE success of the Austrians in Italy, occasioned the utmost anxiety at the court of Madrid; where it was now apprehended, that her Hungarian majesty had formed a design for conquer-  
ing

ag the kingdom of Naples; and that the Eng- CHAP.  
ish were to furnish her with maritime succours, III.  
or the expedition in question. This was repre-  
ented to the court of Versailles; and, though 1743  
he representation was but little credited, yet  
he French monarch commanded the fitting out  
of several of his ships, which had remained in  
Toulon, purposely for them to reinforce the  
quadron under Monsieur de Court, who received  
orders to take the Spanish squadron under his  
protection, and reconduct them into some har-  
bour of Spain, in spite of any opposition to be  
made by the British admiral: but the principal  
article, in the instructions of Monsieur de Court,  
was, to prevent the English from making any  
attempt on the kingdom of Naples. To succeed  
in this, it was thought necessary, not only to  
fight the British squadron, and force it to retire;  
but likewise to oppose the sailing out, and pas-  
sage, of the considerable succours intended for  
Admiral Matthews; for which, the French were  
sensible, that commander had made repeated  
and urgent applications; and, of which, he was  
in such necessity, that they knew the prime of  
his ships were rendered incapable of proper ser-  
vice: and, as to retard the arrival of any sup-  
plies was so material an object, the French fitted  
out a strong squadron at Brest, under the com-  
mand of Monsieur de Roquefeuille, which was  
primarily intended to cut off all succours from  
the British squadron in the Mediterranean;  
though, soon after, this armament was ordered  
on a more important enterprize; an enterprize,  
destined for an invasion on England; and aimed  
to subvert the happiest constitution under hea-  
ven! Though it was then considered as subsidi-  
ary, and done merely to blind the English, and  
keep



PART keep them employed at home; so that they  
 IV. might no longer think, at least for some time,  
 of transporting the large quantity of stores, get-  
 1743. ting up in their harbours, for the use of the fleet  
 in the Mediterranean.

THE principal instruction of Admiral Matthews, was, to hinder the execution of the ambitious views of Spain, in sacrificing the house of Austria; and to perform all that was possible for the support and security of his Sardinian majesty, on which immediately depended the liberties of Italy, and more remotely the state of Europe. Faithfully and obediently to pursue his instructions, the British admiral so diligently discharged this important command, as entirely to win the royal confidence and affection of his Sardinian majesty, whom he frequently attended in his ministerial capacity; and, during his absence, committed the charge of the fleet to the conduct of Admiral Lestock. But though Admiral Matthews had sufficiently secured the port of Villa Franca, and the adjacent coast, from any danger of an invasion; while he was in Villa Franca harbour, on the 15th of September, he represented to Lord Carteret, “ That it was his indispensable duty to acquaint his lordship, that, “ unless some ships were under orders to join him, it would be totally impracticable for him to execute his instructions: and that it “ was with concern he was compelled to say, the “ service, under his command, had, for upwards of ten months past, been cramped beyond belief itself, and was so at that juncture; “ greatly to the prejudice of his majesty’s service, “ and the common cause: and he took leave to “ repeat again, that the constant answer of the “ lords commissioners of the admiralty, to his “ pres-

“ pressing demands, for a supply of ships being  
“ sent him, would do no business.” So bad  
was the condition of the Mediterranean fleet,  
and in such a necessity for supplies, that Admiral  
Matthews apprehended, if it should turn out a  
French war, the fleet, under his command, was  
by no means in a sufficient condition for it, in any  
respect: in the first place, he complained he had  
not a sufficient force, to enable him to keep  
sending a proper number of ships to refit and  
careen; and, if he had, the want of artificers,  
at Minorca, would not let him depend upon  
their joining him in any reasonable time: many  
of the ships, with him, had been so long out of  
England, that were they to be sent down to be  
repaired, they could not be refitted, so as to join  
him, in three months, if capable of being re-  
paired without a dock: the admiral had repre-  
sented the state and condition of the ships so  
often, and to so little purpose, that he was tired  
of complaining: and he had recommended it to  
the lords of the admiralty, to order out some  
great ships, to relieve others that had not been  
docked, or careened, for almost three years:  
and complained, that the keeping out the ships,  
so long, was their utter destruction, and not only  
a great discouragement to the officers, and men,  
but also injurious to the service: but the constant  
reply he received, from the lords of the admi-  
ralty, was, that they would supply him when  
the other services would permit them. While  
Admiral Matthews, was in this necessity for  
ships, men, stores, provisions, and other neces-  
saries, his caulkers and carpenters were continu-  
ally employed; and this honourable commander  
frankly told the Duke of Newcastle, “ That he  
“ should endeavour, to the utmost of his power,  
“ during

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“ during the little time he hoped to continue in  
 “ his majesty’s favour, to execute all his com-  
 “ mands; and wished, for the sake of his coun-  
 “ try, that he had been better supported, to  
 “ have been enabled to have carried on the  
 “ service agreeable to his inclination and am-  
 “ bition; but that had not been his good  
 “ fortune.”

On the 21st of September, Admiral Matthews sent intelligence, to the Duke of Newcastle, that the French, at Toulon, were careening all their ships, had called in their seamen, and that they worked as if they were to put to sea with the utmost expedition; and that the Spaniards had unbent their sails, and were putting on shore all their powder, to careen their ships: which though it would take up some time, the French wanted neither for proper conveniences, nor assistance for expedition. The admiral afterwards expressed his apprehension, that the French would take some of the Spanish ships and man them: as the French had twenty-one sail at Toulon, and the Spaniards had eighteen, great and small, and twenty-eight of these ships were from fifty guns upwards, this gave Admiral Matthews much uneasiness; because all the strength he could depend upon having with him, against January, was only twenty-eight, fifty gun ships included; and they all to be in a condition to keep the sea; which must make the other parts of his majesty’s commands totally neglected, by the Spaniards and French having the whole coast of Italy open to them, to carry, by small embarkations, recruits into Italy.

On the 30th of December, Admiral Matthews, then at Turin, received intelligence, that the  
 Brest

Brest squadron was actually sailed, and consisted of five ships of seventy guns, six of sixty, two of fifty, four of forty, and four of twenty, in all eleven ships of the line, and ten frigates. Immediately, upon this information, the British admiral sent two expresses to order the ships at Minorca to put to sea, with the utmost expedition, and not wait for the careening: and, as he kept the ships with him constantly in readiness to proceed upon service, the admiral expected he should be in a condition to prevent the designs of the French, though they intended to favour the escape of the squadron at Toulon; where Monsieur de Court, the French admiral, was arrived, and proposed being ready to proceed to sea, with the conjunct fleet on the 20th of January. No sooner did the British admiral receive this latter information, than he quitted the court of Turin, where he had been concerting the necessary measures, with his Sardinian majesty, for the security of the coast of Italy; dispatched expresses, every where, to collect all his strength together, to enable him to encounter the armaments at Toulon; and embarked, at Villa Franca, on his return to the main body of the fleet, then at Hieres, under the command of Admiral Lestock: though Admiral Matthews, before his departure from Villa Franca, left two men of war, and four frigates, to cruise off Port Spezzia, in the territory of Genoa, because he suspected some embarkations, with troops and supplies, would be sent thither, from Languedoc or Provence; the French having equipped several gallies at Marseilles, and retained a considerable number of transports in their service.

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MR MATTHEWS had been lately promoted to the rank of Admiral of the Blue; Mr Lestock was advanced to be Vice-Admiral of the Blue; and Mr Rowley Rear-Admiral of the White: the two latter put themselves under the command of Mr Matthews, on his arrival at Hieres; where, on the 3d of January, he found himself at the head of no more than twenty sail, and four of them but of fifty guns; which had made an inconsiderable figure, if the conjunct fleet had put to sea, at so favourable an opportunity: however the British admiral, on the 11th of January, found his fleet was reinforced, by the arrival of several ships from Minorca, and some cruizers, to thirty-eight sail, which was somewhat superior to the conjunct squadron in Toulon: and the British admiral did not doubt to do his duty with those if they were not joined by the Brest squadron; having the pleasure to find all his men in high spirits, and the ships in as good order as it was in his power to put them; only he wished for a thousand more seamen, but as it was too late, he continued on his station, off the isles of Hieres, to observe the motions of the conjunct squadrons, with a resolution to give them battle, as soon as they came out of the harbour.

WHILE the French and Spaniards entertained a suspicion that the British fleet was intended to make a descent on Naples, in conjunction with the army under Prince Lobkowitz in Italy; it was, on the other hand, apprehended, by his Sardinian majesty, and Admiral Matthews, that the view of the combined squadrons was, either to reconduct the Spaniards into their own harbours; or to hazard a battle, in hopes of forcing the British fleet from their station, at the

the islands of Hieres ; and to accomplish an embarkation, of horse and foot, from Antibes, and other places, into Italy : and as such a project was understood to be the last effort, of the two crowns, with respect to the procuring a settlement for Don Philip, the British admiral was determined to exert all his abilities in defeating a scheme so pernicious to the interest of the friends and confederates of the British crown : the admiral was sensible how much depended on the skill, the courage, and integrity of his officers ; he was prepared to set them a noble example ; and was assured, if his commands were punctually executed, that the event, of such an important action, would secure the fate of Italy, humble the vanity of Spain, and give the best opportunity of prostrating France to the mercy of the British nation.

ADMIRAL MATTHEWS frequently sent in some of his ships to observe the proceedings of the French and Spaniards, in the harbour ; and, on the 1st of February, found they were almost ready to proceed to sea. At this time the British fleet, and the combined squadrons, consisted of the following divisions.

A LIST of the BRITISH FLEET.

V A N.

1743.

REAR-ADMIRAL ROWLEY.

Frigates, &c.	Rates	Ships	Commanders	Men	Cans
	3	Stirling Castle	Cowper	480	70
	4	Warwick	West	400	60
	3	Naffau	Lloyd	480	70
		Cambridge	Drummond	600	80
Oxford	2	Barfleur	R. A. Rowley	750	90
Feverham			C. De Langle		
Winchelsea	3	Prs Caroline	Osborn	600	80
		Berwick	Hawke	480	70
		Chichester	Dilke	600	80
	4	Kingston	Lovet	400	60

C E N T E R.

ADMIRAL MATTHEWS.

	4	Dragon	Watson	400	60
	3	Bodford	Townsend	480	70
		Princessa	Pitt	480	74
Guernsey		Norfolk	Forbes	600	80
Chatham	2	Namur	Ad. Matthews	750	90
Salisbury			Capt. Ruffel		
Dursley Galley		Marlborough	Cornwall	750	90
Ann Galley F.	3	Dorsetshire	Burriſh	600	80
		Essex	Norris	480	70
	4	Rupert	Ambrose	400	60
	3	Royal Oak	Williams	480	70

R E A R.

VICE-ADMIRAL LESTOCK.

	4	Dunkirk	Purvis	400	60
	3	Somerſet	Slaughter	600	80
		Torbay	Gascoigne	480	70
Nonſuch	2	Neptune	V. A. Leſtock	750	90
Romney			Capt. Stepney		
Diamond	3	Ruffel	Long	600	80
Mercury Fireſh.		Buckingham	Towrey	480	70
		Boyne	Frogmore	600	80
		Elizabeth	Lingen	480	70
		Revenge	Berkeley	480	70

A LIST

A LIST of the COMBINED FLEET.

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VAN. FRENCH.

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COMMODORE GABARET.

Frigates	Rates	Ships	Commanders	Men	Guns
	4	Le Diamont	de Mafiac	360	50
		Le Toulouse	d' Astrour	480	60
		Le Serieux	de Chaylus	500	64
L'Attalante		L' Eole	de Gravier	500	64
Le Flore	3	L' Esperance	Com. Gabaret	580	74
		L' St Esprit	de Piofin	580	74
	4	Le Boree	de Marquefe	500	64
		L' Aguilon	de Vandrevil	360	50

CENTER. FRENCH.

ADMIRAL DE COURT.

	4	Le Tygre	de Saurin	400	56
		Le Trident	de Caylus	500	64
	3	Le Duc d'Orleans	d' Orvez	580	74
Le Zephire		Le Terrible	Ad. de Court	600	74
Le Volag		Le Ferme	de Sergne	580	74
	4	Le Solide	de Chateaneuf	500	64
		Le Leopard	de Galifet	500	64
		L' Alcion	de Lance	400	56

REAR. SPANIARDS.

ADMIRAL NAVARRO.

	4	Le Superbe	Juan Valdez	500	60
		Le Poder	Rodriguez	500	60
		Le S. Fernando	de la Vega	500	60
	3	Le Constant	de Tourtaga	600	70
		L' Isabella	Pestathoui	700	70
Two Frigates	1	Le R. Inf. D. Philip	Ad. Navarro	1300	114
	3	Le Hercule	Cofme d'Alvarez	600	70
		Le Amerique	Fran. Petruchi	600	70
		Le Neptune	Hen. Olivarez	500	60
		L' Orient	Joach de Villena	500	60
		Le Berillant	Blaise de la Barrera	500	60
	4	Le Retiro	Juan Souriane	450	54

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IV. THE British fleet was composed of four ships of ninety guns, eight of eighty guns, eleven of seventy, and five of sixty; being twenty-eight ships of the line; besides ten frigates, of which

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six were of fifty guns, two of forty, two of twenty, and two fire-ships; in all forty sail: having on board 2,490 guns, 15,000 seamen, and 800 soldiers from Minorca. The combined squadron consisted of twenty-eight ships of the line; of which, one of them was of 114 guns, nine of seventy, thirteen of sixty, and five of fifty, besides six frigates; so that the whole combined squadrons made thirty-four sail; having in all 1,820 guns, and manned with 16,500 sailors: the two fleets consisted of an equal number of ships of the line, and were equally manned: the combined squadrons left four Spanish ships, of fifty guns each, behind them, in Toulon, for want of men; or rather to afford an opportunity of better manning the rest of the fleet; for the French admiral depended more on the cleanness, than the strength, of his ships.

THE combined squadrons being ready to sail, Admiral de Court hoisted his flag on board the *Terrible*; and, on the 8th of February, all the ships were preparing to sail out of Toulon. On the same day, Admiral Matthews received advice, that three expresses arrived at Toulon, the day before, and that the conjunct fleet would put to sea the next morning: between three and four that afternoon, Capt. Marsh, of the *Winchelsea*, having stood athwart of the *Petit Passé* of the bay of Hieres, made a signal that some of the French and Spanish ships were under sail, coming out of Toulon road; and the *Essex*, under the island of Porquerole, repeating the same signal, Admiral Matthews answered both, by firing

firing a gun; and made the signal for unmoor-
ing the fleet, and putting the ships in a condition
for action; which was done with the utmost
alacrity and expedition.

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THE French and Spaniards having hauled out of the port into the road, on the 9th in the morning, came out of the harbour; and were employed, all day, in forming a line of battle, without the Spaniards being able to get into it; either, because their ships went badly, or were indifferently managed: which occasioned the combined fleets to hale their wind, and keep to windward. While the British admiral made the signal to weigh, and got the whole fleet under sail, when they perceived several of the French and Spanish ships: on which the British fleet continued, all the afternoon, plying to windward, between the islands and the main land, in the bay of Hieres, expecting the combined fleet would come down: but as they did not, Admiral Matthews, having left cruizers to watch their motions, anchored, at night, in the bay of Hieres.

By break of day, next morning, the British fleet weighed with the land breeze: the sailors, on board Admiral Matthews, saw, from the mast-head, fifteen sail of the conjunct squadron; the rest being concealed by the island of Porquerole: and, at seven o'clock, Admiral Matthews made the signal, for the fleet to draw into a line of battle, one a-stern of the other, with a large wind; and for those to lead, who were to lead with their starboard tacks aboard by a wind: Vice-Admiral Lestock, and Rear-Admiral Rowley repeated the signal, and answered it, by making sail a head with their divisions: the British fleet made all the sail they could to meet the French and Spaniards; who were standing, at the

PART the same time, towards them, with a small westerly breeze: but the British fleet, having but

IV. little wind, and that at north with a high western swell, the ships were hindered from getting out

1743. of the bay, in the disposition of battle, according to the signal abroad; and the two divisions of the admiral and vice-admiral, having got into the southern passage of the bay, mixed together heads and sterns athwart, just upon being on board of one another, entirely governed and conducted by the swell, with all their boats a-head, endeavouring to tow the ships clear of one another; and it was with great difficulty they escaped out of the bay, free from prejudice. At three o'clock, the easterly wind prevailing, Admiral Matthews made the signal for the fleet to draw into a line of battle, one ship a-breast of another; the vice and rear-admiral repeated the signal, and the fleet made sail. The combined squadrons brought to in a line of battle, but, for want of wind, and having a very ugly sea, it was night before the British admiral could get near them; having continued the signal all day for the line of battle, and kept it out for some time after it was night: having, at six o'clock made the signal to bring to, on the larboard tack; which was repeated by the vice and rear-admirals, the former being in a line a-breast with Admiral Matthews, within three miles of the combined squadrons; two of whose ships bore away from him. Admiral Matthews, having brought to, kept within shore about the distance of two leagues off the French and Spaniards; who brought to, under their top-sails; though Admiral de Court intended to stretch over to the southward, if possible, without coming to an engagement. The wind continued variable,

variable, in the eastern quarter, all night; and Admiral Matthews ordered the Effex to lie a mile to leeward of him, and the Winchelsea a good musket-shot to leeward of the Effex, to watch the motions of the combined squadrons, and to make the proper signals, and stand after them, in case they should make sail; though the admiral was so near, that he could count the confederate ships, after the moon was down.

At day-break, on the 11th, the confederate squadrons, having made sail in the night, with little wind easterly, were further off than the night before, Cape Sicie bearing N. E. by N. eight leagues, about two or three leagues to leeward, and a-stern of the English, who had been driven, by the currents, between them and Toulon; Cape Sicie bearing N. N. W. four leagues; Monsieur de Court made the signal for the line of battle upon a wind; the Spaniards composing the rear, upon account of the nearness of the English, who were bearing down: their rear, according to the journal of the French admiral, being very much extended, so that from the head-most ship of their van, to the stern-most of their rear, the distance was at least three leagues: the combined fleet was also too much extended, and might take up about two leagues. Certainly Admiral Matthews, on the appearance of day, found the divisions of his fleet in a good deal of disorder; for, when it was dawning, and the admiral had made sail, and the signal for the line of battle a-breast; Vice-Admiral Lestock was full five miles a-stern of him, occasioned by his having brought too so far to windward. In the mean time the combined fleet made sail, with their top-sails, and some times setting their fore-sails, stretching, in good order of battle, to the

PART southward: the British fleet continued to follow them, but, as the rear was at so great a distance

IV. from the center, and the van not so close as it
 1743. should have been, Admiral Matthews, at half an hour past seven o'clock, made the signal for Rear-Admiral Rowley and his division to make more sail, which the vice-admiral repeated; and soon after, perceived the like signal for himself. At eight o'clock, Admiral Matthews made the signal for the fleet to draw into the line of battle, one ship a-breast of another. At nine, another signal was made, for the fleet to draw into a line of battle, one ship a-stern of another, with a large wind; and, half an hour after, a signal was made, for the fleet to draw into a line of battle, one ship a-head of another: these signals were properly repeated both by Vice-Admiral Lestock, and Rear-Admiral Rowley.

THE conduct of the confederate commanders, made it impossible to guess at their intentions: for, if they had no real design of coming to an engagement, they had a good opportunity, at their first coming out of Toulon, by a strong westerly wind, to have proceeded to Italy, if they had been bound there, without interruption, while the British fleet was at anchor in the bay of Hieres; and, had they been bound down the streights, which was most probable, the next day, when the easterly wind prevailed, they might have made sail from the British fleet; and, making the best use of a fair wind, with clean ships, that sailed three foot to one more than the English, have accomplished their escape: though the French admiral certainly proposed to get clear of the British fleet, without an engagement; and was impeded in favouring his escape, by the bad disposition of the Spanish ships in the rear,

rear, as much as Admiral Matthews was in following him, by the stragling order of the division under Vice-Admiral Lestock; which obliged Monsieur de Court to wait for them, and gave part of the British fleet an opportunity of getting up.

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REAR-ADMIRAL ROWLEY led the van, but could never come near the French Squadron; as Monsieur de Court would sometimes lie to, as if he designed staying for them; but, when they drew near him, he made sail again: till, at last, he had left most of the Spanish ships a good way a-stern of him. Admiral Matthews was then fully convinced the French commander never would come to a general engagement; but judged by his way of acting, that his design was, to draw him down the streights, where he was suspicious the Brest Squadron might reinforce him; when the French would have it in their power to compel the English to a very disadvantageous engagement; and this made the British admiral determine to bring on an engagement, without the due disposition of the line of battle; for fear, while he was waiting to put the other divisions in order, the conjunct squadrons would get out of his reach.

ACCORDINGLY, at half an hour past eleven, Admiral Matthews made the signal for engaging: this was repeated by Rear-Admiral Rowley; though the vice-admiral did not think this repetition material; which occasioned many conjectures; especially as he had punctually repeated every preceeding signal of the day. The British fleet kept bearing down upon the French and Spaniards, not at all formed in order of battle; the van being to windward four or five miles of the line of battle; and the rear a great distance from the center: whereby, it soon became impracticable for the British fleet to keep the

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advantage of the wind, considering the foulness of their ships; and have room to form in a proper disposition of battle, before action; unless they had immediately haled their wind, to gain time for that purpose, which would have brought the French and Spaniards more a-sterm of them. Monsieur de Court no sooner observed the British admiral make the signal for an engagement, than he hoisted his colours; as did every ship of the confederate fleet; making more sail, and continuing their course to the southward, up the streights; with an intention of gaining the wind, or to draw the English on to fight, at a disadvantage, upon such unequal terms. The French went very fast a-head, in excellent order; but there was a considerable vacancy in the Spanish line: and Monsieur de Court was of opinion, that this confusion induced Admiral Matthews, who was on the very point of attacking the French admiral, to tack, with the strongest ships, with an intention to surround Don Navarro, in the Royal Philip, and four other ships with her out of the line.

ADMIRAL MATTHEWS, with his division, continued to follow the French and Spaniards; and, about one o'clock, the center of the British fleet was a-breast of the rear of the confederate squadrons: the British van near a-breast with the French division in the center: while Commodore Gabaret was greatly a-head of the confederate fleet; and Vice-Admiral Lestock was a great way a-sterm, of the British fleet, with little wind, and a great swell: so that Rear-Admiral Rowley, instead of being far enough a-head to attack the French commodore in the van, was where Admiral Matthews should have been; the admiral, instead of being far enough a-head to attack

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Monfieur de Court in the center, was where Vice-Admiral Lestock, should have been; and Vice-Admiral Lestock, instead of being far enough a-head to attack the Spanish admiral in the rear, was left a great distance a-stern; and, though he saw the urgent necessity of engaging, without waiting till the ships were properly collected in their several stations, according to the line of battle, either out of envy to the chief commander, or by the most rigid adherence to a decorum of discipline, he neglected the opportunity of advancing with the admiral, who was then bearing down upon the Spanish admiral, in the Royal Philip; which Vice-Admiral Lestock looked upon as contrary to the signal of the line of battle then abroad, by which, and the rules of war, he expected the Spanish squadron to have fallen to his share; though if the engagement had been deferred, till he got into his station, it was evident there would have been not the least occasion of firing a gun, while the conjunct squadrons were so far a-head, and were capable of sailing three mile to one: nor is it probable that the British fleet would have come up at all, had it not been for the obstinacy of Admiral Navarro; who had but little regard for the French admiral, though his preservation was afterwards entirely owing to the conduct of Monsieur de Court.

ADMIRAL MATTHEWS, in the *Namur*, and Capt. Cornwall, in the *Marlborough*, finding they could not come up with the French, bore down, together, upon the Spanish admiral, and the *Isabella*, his second a-stern, and began the action, within pistol-shot, about half an hour past one o'clock, with great intrepidity. At the same time Capt. Forbes, in the *Norfolk*, bore down and engaged the *Constant*, the second a-head

PART head of Don Navarro ; and the *Princessa*, *Somerfet*, *Bedford*, *Dragon*, and *Kingston*, fired at the *Poder*, the ship next a-head of the *Constant* :

IV. *1743.* for the *Orient*, *Amerique*, and *Neptune*, the three head-most ships of the *Poder*, exchanged a broad-side with the head-most ships of the British center, and continued their course to the southward, with the French squadron, making in all nineteen ships of the line ; and the five other Spanish ships were at a considerable distance, a-stern of their admiral : though these ships might have been kept before the wind, by Vice-Admiral *Lestock*, if the necessity, so strong before his eyes, could have prevailed on him to conceive himself justified in breaking the line, while the signal was unaltered. Vice-Admiral *Lestock* was still at a great distance from the line : but, about two o'clock, Rear-Admiral *Rowley*, and Capt. *Osborne* in the *Princess Caroline*, got a-longside of the French admiral, and the *Ferme*, his second, and engaged them for some time ; the *Berwick* and *Chichester* also fired at the French, but at too great a distance ; while the *Nassau*, *Warwick*, and *Sterling-Castle*, the three other foremost ships of this division, though there was no signal of direction to the contrary, did not engage, according to the signal abroad ; but kept their wind, endeavouring to prevent the French, from tacking and doubling upon them ; who had so great a superiority, as nineteen against seven, the *Kingston* and *Cambridge*, having got so far a-head as to fall in among the center. Admiral *Rowley* continued the engagement, against the French admiral, with great obstinacy and judgment ; assisted most courageously by Capt. *Osborne* : and, as seven other ships of the French division began to fire ; this prevented Admiral *de Court* taking

taking his division to the assistance of the Spaniards; neither could Commodore Gabaret do it, with the van, without running the hazard of being surrounded by the van of the English, which had the wind of them, and kept it with such discretion as prevented the rest of the French ships from engaging, and added to the applause and reputation of their commanding officer.

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A CONSTANT fire was maintained, with great warmth, by Admiral Matthews and the Marlborough, against Don Navarro and his second, who all behaved with great bravery and resolution: but the Norfolk, after three quarters of an hour, obliged the Constant to bear away out of the line, much disabled; on which, the Spanish admiral, and his second a-stern, notwithstanding their warm exercise against the Namur and Marlborough, fired some guns at her to bring her back; but to no purpose, for she continued to lie to leeward of them, and never more returned to the battle: the Norfolk did not think proper to quit the line in pursuit of her; and, having no antagonist, she fell to windward, having twenty men killed, and twenty-five wounded, and her rigging, masts, and yards, considerably shattered. The Namur and Marlborough, being just aboard of one another, obliged Admiral Matthews to fill his sails, and go a-head, in the heat of action; though his masts, yards, and rigging, were so much disabled, as to occasion the greatest difficulty in managing the ship; which was increased in having little wind, with an ugly swell, and the mizen-top-sail being handed, to prevent the masts and rigging tumbling about their ears; though he reeved new braces three several times; so that he could not give the Marlborough the assistance Capt. Cornwall wanted,

PART ed, whose behaviour merited all imaginable ap-

IV. plause: and though the admiral engaged within
 { pistol-shot, he had but nine men killed, and forty
 1743. wounded; and among the latter was Capt. Ruf-
 sel, who had his arm taken off by the first
 broadside.

THE gallant Capt. Cornwall had lost both his
 legs, by an unfortunate shot; and the Marlbo-
 rough, at three o'clock, had her main and
 mizen-masts shot by the board, whose fall com-
 pleted the death of her heroic commander: ne-
 vertheless she was fought bravely by her lieu-
 tenant, and continued to make good fires upon
 her opponents; although she had no assistance
 from her neighbours in the line, that continued
 lying to windward, and firing at the Spanish
 ships in the rear, not within gun-shot; though
 the admiral had sent orders for them to bear
 down to her assistance. In the mean time, the
 Poder obliged the Princeffa and Somerset to quit
 the line; and the Dragon, Bedford, Kingston,
 Guernsey, and Salisbury, continued to fire at
 her, though at too great a distance; which was
 perceived by Capt. Hawke, in the Berwick, who
 gallantly bore down, within half-musket shot,
 and vigorously engaged the Poder; having, at
 the first broadside, killed twenty-seven of her
 men, and dismounted seven of her lower guns:
 the Poder was soon after dismasted, and struck,
 to Capt. Hawke, who sent several boats to take
 possession of the ship. The Royal Philip lying,
 disabled, with her stern to the Marlborough,
 her seconds gone, and the ships a-stern not yet
 come up; at four o'clock, the Ann Galley fire-
 ship was ordered to prime, with the utmost dis-
 patch, and go down upon the Spanish admiral,
 and burn him: but, before the fire-ship could
 get

get ready, the Spanish ships a-stern passed by Vice-Admiral Lestock; who fired a broadside at the sternmost ship, but could not stop her from going a-head; which gave them an opportunity of reinforcing the Spanish admiral, just as the Anne Galley fire-ship was approaching the Royal Philip, when these ships fired at the fire-ship, all the way she was advancing. The fire-ship, being within a cable's length of the Spanish admiral, was set on fire: but the Spaniards, pouring into her bows a great number of shot, immediately sunk her; though, when she sunk, she was not her length from the Royal Philip, and went down all in a blaze; with Capt. Mackey, her brave commander, his lieutenant, gunner, and twelve men; whose fate was participated by fifty Spaniards, who were sent, in a launch, from the Royal Philip to take her, and as they arrived close under her, the very moment she blew up, perished in the flames. At this time, the Namur lay right a-head of the Spaniards, in so shattered a condition, as to be incapable of getting to the assistance of the Marlborough, any more than her stern chace-guns; which were kept warmly playing within less than musket-shot, on the Spanish admiral, and the other four Spanish ships which had passed by Vice-Admiral Lestock; who, in return, raked the Namur fore and aft, for a considerable time. The Marlborough was towed out of the line, about five o'clock, almost tore to pieces. Admiral Matthews then made the signal for the line a-head, and wore round; which they that were a-stern of his division, only, did after him; being the Dorsetshire, Essex, Rupert and Royal Oak; who having formed the line with the admiral, engaged the Royal Philip, and six other Spanish ships, that, by this time,

PART were come up, and got into a close line with their
IV. admiral.

REAR-ADMIRAL ROWLEY and the Princessa,
1743. had warm work, for three glasses, with the French admiral and his second ; but Monsieur de Court, perceiving if Vice-Admiral Lestock should take his station that the Spanish division must be entirely defeated, was intent on the preservation of the Spaniards ; and, at three o'clock, made the signal for the van to tack, to go to the assistance of the rear ; imagining he had then a fair opportunity of inclosing Admiral Matthews between two fires : but this signal was not put in execution, till very late ; because Commodore Gabaret was prevented from tacking, by the vigilance of the Sterling Castle, Warwick, Nassau, and Chatham ; who, while Commodore Gabaret was endeavouring to gain the weather gage, an advantage every prudent officer is desirous of obtaining, kept so well to windward, as to prevent the French from tacking so soon as they would have done : at length, in spite of the endeavours of Capt. Cooper, who commanded the Sterling Castle to the contrary, the van of the French squadron tacked about five o'clock, which obliged Rear-Admiral Rowley to tack, also, with a view of joining the British center, which otherwise must have been immediately overpowered by the superiority of the French ; because Vice-Admiral Lestock had not, during all this time, brought up his division to reinforce the center ; though undoubtedly he had the same opportunity of joining Admiral Matthews, as the four sternmost ships of the Spanish division, had of arriving time enough to the assistance of Don Navarro.

IMMEDIATELY when the French had gained the tack, which they did all together, Admiral de

de Court set his foresail, and stood away, leaving Admiral Rowley engaged with his two seconds; who also went off in about twenty minutes: on which Rear-Admiral Rowley made the signal, for the ships in his division, to bear down into his wake; and proceeded to the northward, with all imaginable expedition, for succouring the British center. The French squadron followed them very closely; and ranged within pistol-shot of four or five of the British van, where they could have raked them fore and aft, and had in their power, by so superior a force, to have destroyed them: but the French were so desirous of disengaging the Spanish admiral, that they passed by, without firing a shot; because, to subdue the British van, while their rear was vanquished, could be no incitement to them; the redemption of their rear, in the desperate condition they seemed to be in, was the important point in view. The French squadrons came up, just as the *Poder* had struck to the *Berwick*; so that Capt. Hawke had only time to take out the Spanish captain, and four of his principal officers, it being impossible to do any thing with the *Poder*, as it was almost dark, and she had not a mast standing: which obliged Capt. Hawke, to leave her to the French: but one of his lieutenants, and twenty-three men could not be got out of her, notwithstanding their first lieutenant had done all he could to persuade them to quit her, but in vain. The Spanish squadron being all compacted, and joined by the French, their whole fleet was ranged in good order of battle; at half an hour past five, Admiral Matthews made the signal for the British fleet to draw into a line of battle a-head: at this time the *Namur*, and some others of the same division, continued their

PART engagement with the Royal Philip, and the stern-
IV. most ships that had joined her : but night coming
 on, firing ceased on all sides ; and the British fleet,
 being all formed in a line, passed on, leaving the
 Spanish ships greatly shattered, and almost entirely disabled.

1743.

THE conjunct fleet took the opportunity of the night, which was very dark, to escape from the British fleet, and avoid renewing the engagement, being busily employed, in towing their crippled ships before the wind. The British admiral thought it imprudent to continue the engagement any longer than duskish : since the necessary orders by signals, for conducting the fleet could not have been distinguished ; nor indeed an enemy known from a friend ; as in that case confusion and disorder must have ensued, judgment and superiority of strength, with all other advantages, must have yielded to mere chance : no commendable or justifiable way of determining battles, on which the fate of nations is dependant, unless irresistible necessity obliges it.

ADMIRAL MATTHEWS, at eight o'clock at night, shifted his ship, and hoisted his flag on board the the *Russel* ; not caring, should there be an engagement the next morning, to risk the falling of all the masts belonging to the *Namur* : and the admiral acquainted both the vice and rear-admirals of his removal, directing them to keep near him all night : at the same time, he intimated to Vice-Admiral Lestock, a surprize at his behaviour, hoping he would be able to give a good reason for his conduct ; and directed him, in case they should see the confederate fleet, when the *Russel* made the signal for the line of battle a-head of each other, to lead with the rear division, either with the starboard or larboard tacks ; in regard Rear-Admiral Rowley's masts were much wounded,

ed, and, for ought the admiral knew, so might the CHAP.
masts of those ships that were engaged with him. III.

THE wind continued variable all night, and sometimes calm: at day-break, about six o'clock, 1743-
on the 12th, the British fleet found the confederate ships again to leeward of them, with their crippled ships in tow, bearing S. W. by W. distant six leagues, and Cape Sicie N. N. E. at the distance of seven leagues: the Somerset of eighty guns, belonging to Vice-Admiral Lestock's division, was advanced three or four miles a-head, and engaged the Hercules, a Spanish ship of seventy guns, which had been separated from her division, till the French made up to her assistance; when the Somerset retired, but not before she had done considerable damage to the Hercules. At nine o'clock, Vice-Admiral Lestock made a signal, for his division, to give chase to the S. W. and crouded sail a-head; having before sent his compliments to the admiral, by Capt. Long, with his opinion, that they could do nothing, unless they engaged in a proper disposition of battle. At eleven o'clock, Admiral Matthews made the signal, for the fleet, to draw into a line of battle, one ship a-breast of another; and the whole fleet gave chase, in a good close line; the French standing away from them, with all the sail they could make: the Spanish squadron being a-head, and to leeward of the French, with four of their ships disabled, among which was the Royal Philip, whose flag was flying without a top-mast on end, or a yard a-cross, in tow of the Isabella. The confederate fleet retreated in great disorder; and the British fleet pursued them, perfectly well formed in a line of battle: the latter had but little wind all the day; but, by six o'clock, Vice-Admiral Lestock, with his division,

PART

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division, got within a league of the confederates ; the body of the Spanish squadron bearing S. W. by W. and the body of the French S. W. by S. The *Poder* had been so greatly disabled as to retard the French in their sailing ; but, when the British fleet was bearing down so near upon them, the French admiral ordered the *Diamant* to take out as many of the Spaniards on board the *Poder* as she could : several boats were sent on board ; and, all the men being taken out, she was left behind. Admiral Matthews then sent the *Essex* a-head to burn the *Poder*, not being able to spare any of his squadron to carry her to Minorca, having just before sent the *Marlborough* thither, under convoy of the *Oxford* ; the *Poder* was accordingly set on fire, and she blew up about half an hour after nine : there was also great reason to believe, that, if there had been any wind, the French would have left the other Spanish crippled ships, as most of them had suffered greatly. This afternoon, Capt. Watkins, in the *Burford*, of seventy guns, joined the fleet, and fell into the line ; who had been in the bay of Hieres the day before, and hearing the report of guns, and seeing the smoke, he made directly for it. Though the moon shone very bright, the British fleet, at ten o'clock, lost sight of the confederates ; and, having but little wind at N. N. E. Admiral Matthews brought to, that the sternmost ships might get up with him.

ON monday the 13th, at two in the morning, the *Ruffel* fired ten guns, the signal for the fleet to make sail, which was repeated by Rear-Admiral Rowley, and also by the vice-admiral ; who continued his course to the westward, with a fresh gale, and, at day-break, made the signal for seeing above twenty sail of the confederate fleet,

fleet, then bearing about W. S. W. seven or eight leagues, and the wind flying about to the N. N. W. The signal was then made for the vice-admiral to send ships to chase: the whole fleet continued the pursuit, with all the sail they could crowd; and, in a short time, Vice-Admiral Lestock more plainly discerned the confederates, being able to see them from the deck, and the Royal Philip in tow: but the wind at nine o'clock, coming to the eastward, and blowing very hard, Admiral Matthews, suspecting that the French admiral intended to decoy him down the streights, where he might probably be reinforced by the Brest squadron, thought it most prudent to give over the chase; especially as several of his ships were greatly wounded in their masts: and accordingly, at nine, the admiral made the signal to leave off chasing; and sent the Winchelsea to recall the vice-admiral; who, at ten o'clock, lost sight of the confederates, and the British fleet was never able to discover them afterwards.

THE British fleet lay too, till the next day at noon; when, having mostly repaired their damages, they made sail to the N. W. in hopes of meeting the confederate fleet, and continued that day and night, making sail in for the shore. But the combined squadrons, steering W. S. W. had got on the coast of Spain; where, on the 14th, they separated in a strong gale: after which the French put into Alicant on the 16th, and the Spaniards arrived at Carthagena on the 17th.

ON the 15th, at day-light, Cape Creaux bore N. by W. seven leagues distant from the British fleet; when the Rupert and Winchelsea were ordered into the bay of Roses, to see if they could discover any of the confederate ships there: but they rejoined the fleet without finding any.

WHEN

PART WHEN Admiral Matthews found all his endeav-

IV. ours to overtake the conjunct fleet, or to procure
 intelligence of them, ineffectual, he conjectured
 1743. they were gone down the streights; where, if
 he continued to pursue them, he was apprehensive,
 that the four Spanish ships left at Toulon, might
 be manned by the French, and convoy to Italy
 any reinforcements they pleased, while there was
 only two men of war and four frigates to oppose
 them; and this was so important a consideration,
 for the security of Italy, that the admiral deter-
 mined, if possible, to return immediately to his
 former station at Toulon, in Hieres bay, to be
 ready to defeat such embarkations, and support
 the allies of Great Britain, agreeable to his in-
 structions, and the state of affairs in Italy. With
 this material view, the British admiral dispatched
 the Sutherland hospital ship, with the wounded
 men, to Minorca; and laboured, for several days,
 against contrary winds and storms, to get back
 to the bay of Hieres; which however he saw
 impracticable, and found himself obliged to return
 to Minorca: he then bore away, on the 28th,
 and next day anchored in Mahon harbour: from
 whence he proposed to get again out to sea, the first
 moment that the necessary reparations could be
 made of the damages sustained by several of his
 ships, as well in the engagement with the French
 and Spanish fleets, as in the constant storms and
 foul weather he had afterwards met with.

IN this manner did fortune, misconduct, and
 dilatoriness in many of the British officers, con-
 tribute to the easy escape of the confederate squa-
 drons. During the whole battle the behaviour
 of several of the British officers was one con-
 tinued violation of all the rules of war: for it is
 impossible not to discover that much more might
 have

have been done, by some of the British ships in CHAP. the center, but much more by those in the rear; III. and it is evident that the confederates were indebted, for their escape, to this folly and misconduct, rather than to their own courage: though, if bravery is a sign of merit in a commanding officer, the conduct of Admiral Matthews was superior to the aspersions of envy or detraction; he certainly engaged with a resolution worthy of the British flag; he declined no personal danger; omitted no precaution, that was in his power to use; rushed into the engagement, with the utmost intrepidity; and would, if not prevented by accidents it was not in the power of bravery to surmount, have destroyed the strongest of the confederate ships: he was as bravely seconded by the great and unfortunate Capt. Cornwall, whose example was nobly followed by Capt. Forbes: Rear-Admiral Rowley, Capt. Osborne and Capt. Hawke, gallantly performed their duty; but few others distinguished themselves: and, from all the various accounts of the battle, it appears, that most of the British ships continued, through the whole engagement, at such a distance, from the scene of action, that they could only hear the fire, without feeling the bullets, of the confederate fleet; and that they amused themselves with the appearance of a battle, in which they did not in reality engage, spending those volleys upon the air, and the water, which might have pierced the opposite squadrons, and sunk their rivals to the bottom: while those, who thought it their duty to approach nearer to their adversaries, and who really endeavoured to serve their country, and support their admiral, found themselves abandoned by their associates,

PART ciates, and retired, notwithstanding their bravery, in despair of being seconded.

IV. **1743.** IN this engagement, the British fleet miscarried against two nations, generally considered, though perhaps not always justly, as inferior to British seamen in the arts of naval war: the British fleet, at this time, had a superiority, both in the strength, and the number of their ships; since, except the Spanish admiral, there was not an eighty gun ship in the confederate fleet; whereas the English had twelve of that size: Admiral Matthews had therefore all the reason in the world to expect, that, in case of a battle, he would have been able either to have destroyed the Spanish fleet, or to have forced the combined squadrons back into the harbour of Toulon; which was what he principally aimed at, next to an absolute defeat: because, pursuing them to the coasts of Spain, was none of his business; though it was apparently theirs, to draw him that way: since every league he sailed westward, removed him so much the farther from his proper station; and left them, so much the more, at liberty, to pursue, and perfect, their embarkation in Italy.

WHETHER the British fleet was thus disgraced by the jealousy of Vice-Admiral Lestock, who might not bear to see his admiral in the way of gaining immortal honour, where himself could only, had he done his duty, been mentioned in common with those that behaved well; or, to whatever fatal cause this misfortune was owing, it certainly was highly detrimental to the British interest, and equally prejudicial to the fate of Italy: for as there was no possibility of getting up to the French, to come to a general battle; the victory must have been complete over the Spaniards,

Spaniards, and ended in their entire destruction, CHAP. with all imaginable success, had Vice-Admiral III. Lestock come up with his division; or those ships in the rear of the British center fought as near; and with the same ardour, as the Namur and Marlborough did: after which the French must have retreated precipitately, having nothing else to depend on but running; as their strength would have been so unequal; and their whole merit, in preserving themselves, would have consisted in the cleanness of their ships. So that when the British fleet lost this favourable opportunity, of entirely destroying the Spanish squadron; they lost the only opportunity of procuring an advantageous peace with Spain; of preventing a ruinous war; and bringing the pride, and ambition, of the house of Bourbon, once more to acknowledge the superior fortune, and ability of Britain. These glorious advantages might have been obtained on this memorable day, solely by the naval arms of Britain; at a time when an admiral in chief exposed himself, in the midst of danger, equal with every common seaman, on purpose to prevent the meditated escape of the confederate fleet; and, though he found himself almost deserted, issued his orders with the utmost composure and sedateness: while the vice-admiral saw a behaviour unknown to former ages, a chief commander left to engage, almost alone, in the greatest necessity for immediate assistance, and yet have the mortification to receive none, from those whose duty it certainly was to give it; though afterwards veiled beneath an apology, of having received as much assistance from the vice-admiral as discipline would permit; who was so scrupulously nice, in a point that carried some plausibility of excuse,

PART that he had not leisure, or inclination, to reflect,

IV. that order and discipline are intended for the preservation, not for the destruction, of a fleet;
 1743. and must give way, when the nature and necessity of things command a different attention: because discipline is established by rules, founded on regular orders; which, as they cannot foresee every incident that may accrue, so neither are they so strictly to be pursued, as not, on very obvious emergencies to be deviated from: an obedience to the laws of discipline is highly commendable, yet, it is as certain that the necessity of things, arising from unforeseen events, is a direction superior to all standing rules.

THE British fleet, by such misconduct, instead of accomplishing the glorious ends that might have been expected from its strength, and the ability of the commanders; and such as might have immortalized their reputations, with a lustre equal to the fame obtained by Sir George Byng, when he destroyed the Spanish fleet in the Streights of Messina; gained but an inconsiderable advantage, and sustained a prejudice little inferior to their antagonists. For the confederates lost only one ship, the Poder of 60 guns, in the engagement; a loss with which the Spaniards were very well satisfied, as it furnished them with an opportunity of getting all their other ships into their own harbours, especially as they had taken all their men out of the Poder, which was of no service to the captors. The Royal Philip was greatly damaged, having 500 men either killed or wounded; among the former was Don Nicholas Geraldine, the Spanish captain; and among the latter was Admiral Navarro, who received two slight wounds in the engagement: the Neptune lost her captain, Don Henry

Henty Olivarez, with his first lieutenant, four CHAP. officers, and near 200 men; the *Isabella* lost III. some of her officers, and 300 men: but the rest of the confederate ships received no considerable damage. The British fleet, besides the loss of the *Anne* Galley fire-ship, suffered chiefly in their masts and rigging, where the confederate ships principally directed their shot: the *Namur* was greatly wounded in her rigging, having fifteen men killed, and the captain and fifty wounded: the *Marlborough* received greater damage, and lost her captain, with forty men killed, and 100 wounded: the *Barfleur* had but little hurt; and the whole loss, in the British fleet, did not exceed above 400 men, killed and wounded: but the greatest loss was occasioned by the unfortunate death of the heroic Capt. Cornwall; who, when his admiral was disabled, intrepidly pushed in, with the *Marlborough*, between the *Namur* and the Spanish Squadron; and with a bravery, most of the fleet were strangers to, took on himself the whole fire of the Spanish line: by his noble behaviour, extorting a confession, from the commanders he engaged with, that, at least, one British captain honourably maintained the glory of his nation; where, had he survived, he had merited the greatest honours; but that ardour of bravery, which deserved, unfortunately prevented them: however he had a greater reward than it was in the power of the most grateful to confer, the happiness of dying for his country, the honour of being lamented by every man of virtue, and of being numbered among the greatest ornaments of his family: this brave man fell universally regretted; the admiral very pathetically lamented his fate; the fleet sensibly felt so material a loss; the British nation affectionately revered

vered his memory; and, to pay the highest honours to the ashes of so great a man, he was thought meritorious of having a monument erected to him, by the concurrence of the senate, and at the public expence of that people in whose defence he had so gloriously resigned his latest breath: a death worthy of the greatest man; an honour equal to the greatest worth.

THOUGH the French admiral had acted up to the spirit of his instructions, in reconducting the Spanish squadron to their own harbours; yet, on their arrival in Spain, the court of Madrid was disgusted at the behaviour of Monsieur de Court, and accused him of deserting their fleet to be sacrificed by the English: this resentment was even carried so far, that the Spanish ambassador, at Paris, demanded a sight of the instructions sent to Admiral de Court, and misrepresented the conduct of that admiral, with such odious invectives, that the French ministry, though they were conscious that Monsieur de Court was inculpable, thought proper to discard this able commander, with an apparent indignity of disgrace, only to pacify the clamours of the Spanish court, whose friendship was then too estimable to be cancelled for the sake of a single officer. However, the French admiral published a vindication of his conduct; asserting his innocence, and that the Spanish squadron had liked to have thrown themselves into inevitable destruction, by disregarding a proper disposition in the line of battle; which had certainly happened, if the French had not interposed by sailing, as soon as they could tack, to the assistance of the Royal Philip; in doing which, the French admiral acknowledged he exposed himself to the fire of the whole English line, who, as he said, happily did not punish his

his rashness as he deserved. As Monsieur de CHAP.
Court thought the resolution of an officer was his III;
all, as indeed it generally is in France, though
he had lost the command without repining, he 1743.
told the Bishop of Rennes, the French ambassa-
dor at Madrid, that he could never lose his re-
putation but with his life; informing his lordship,
that he should be glad to know, why such an out-
cry should be set up against him for leaving the
Spaniards to be beat to pieces, when part of his
squadron was actually engaged, and the rest ex-
pected to be engaged every moment; at the
same time that he did not hear one word about
the five Spanish ships which never made the least
effort to support their admiral. He acquainted
his excellency, it was not the French who forced
the Spanish admiral to fight, against all the rules
of war and prudence; that it was not they who
separated the Spanish ships from their admiral,
and threw him in danger; but, after he had
taken so much pains, in spite of all the French
admiral could do, to get himself handsomely
beat, that it was the French admiral who came to
his assistance, and gave him an opportunity of
escaping, which otherwise he never could have
had: and, that in return, the five Spanish cap-
tains, either to hide their own cowardice, or to
cover their ill conduct, raised a clamour, not
only against the French admiral, but against the
whole French nation; as if they were all traitors,
and had formed a design, nay, and executed it
too, as far as was in their power, of betraying
and sacrificing them to the English: whereas,
the truth of the matter was, if they were sacrific-
ed it had been entirely owing to their own folly.
By this recrimination, the remark of Monsieur
Feuquier, “ That the mistakes of opposite com-
manders,

PART “manders, in a battle, generally ballance one

IV. “another,” seemed verified in this engagement:
 though the Spaniards had little reason, excepting
 1743. the long dissensions that had subsisted between

their commander and the French officers at Toulon, to tax Monsieur de Court with negligence or partiality; for he certainly preserved them from destruction, and afterwards lay between them and the British fleet all night, to give Admiral Navarro time to repair, and carry off his damaged ships, which otherwise he never could have done: and the French ministry were so sensible of the good conduct of their admiral, that though they awhile politely dismissed him from his employment, to gratify the humour of the Spaniards, he was soon afterwards restored to his command, in a manner that convinced all the world of his integrity and innocence.

BUT the conduct of another commander was not so conspicuously guiltless: it is always unhappy for the public, to be served by them, whose private resentments, are stronger than their zeal for the honour of their country; this was the case in the British fleet: the vice-admiral complained, that his opinion was never consulted, by the admiral; and that he was kept ignorant of his designs, more than many captains: the admiral judged his next officer to be endued with the detestable passion of envy, which he conjectured would occasion his commands to be obeyed with reluctance; and his most sanguine designs either arraigned, if successful, or defeated in the performance. Both these admirals were always esteemed as brave and experienced commanders; and, had they been on different stations, might have maintained both these characters to the satisfaction of their country.

THE

THE British ministry were not insensible of CHAP. III.
the disunion that subsisted between these commanders; and might have easily discerned it would operate to the dishonour of the nation: 1743.
some lords, in the cabinet, justly apprehended the ill consequences so fatally verified by the event; and earnestly desired to recall the vice-admiral; because Admiral Matthews had declared, before he accepted the command, that he could not trust him, accepting it upon the absolute condition, that the vice-admiral should be recalled, as soon as he arrived there; who constantly and earnestly pressed to be permitted to lay down his commission, when he found the execution of that promise was prevented: besides, suspicions had been entertained of the vice-admiral's fidelity, and, if they were altogether groundless, it is certain that it was the current report in France, that he would not fight if an action was to happen: and these considerations made one part of the British ministry so much the warmer in their instances to recall the vice-admiral; but they were too strongly opposed; and he was continued in the command. This made Admiral Matthews weary of his employment, inasmuch, that, almost three months before the engagement, he wrote from Villa Franca, to the vice-admiral, to acquaint him, "That he could not possibly be more desirous of commanding in chief, than the admiral was of resigning; it being his opinion, that one of them two would go home, and that soon; but it was not in his power then to say which of them would go." But as he could not succeed in his solicitations, the misunderstanding continued to increase, even to the day of battle; a day that every commander would dread, had he the mis-

PART fortune of an obstinate envious man for his fe-

IV. cond: and this smothered dissatisfaction being
 augmented by ill success, on their arrival at Mi-
 1743. norca, broke out into all the bitterness of mutual
 recriminations.

ADMIRAL MATTHEWS, conscious of the discontent the issue of the late engagement must necessarily occasion in England, thought it his duty, for the better satisfaction of the public, and the vindication of himself, to draw up several queries, tending to point out the misconduct of the vice-admiral, which were sent to him, on the 20th of February, with a letter, desiring him to answer the queries: which he did, on the day following. By these queries, the vice-admiral was interrogated, “ Why he did not
 “ bring to, the night before the engagement,
 “ agreeable to the signal; and his reason for
 “ bringing to, at least five miles to windward?
 “ If he did not see the signal to engage; and
 “ his reason for not repeating the signal, and
 “ endeavouring to cut off the four sternmost
 “ ships of the Spanish Squadron; and for not
 “ making the signal, for any of his division, to
 “ perform that service; especially as he had
 “ clean ships in his division: and, to give his
 “ reason for shortening sail, and altering his
 “ course, by haling upon a wind?” To which
 the vice-admiral answered, “ That his division
 “ was in the line, within four miles of the ene-
 “ my, when they brought to; but that, at
 “ eight o’clock in the morning, he was brought
 “ to windward of the admiral, by the variation
 “ of the wind. That he did see the signal to
 “ engage, which is never to be repeated; af-
 “ firming, that he had been in two general bat-
 “ tles, and that this signal was not repeated in
 “ either:

“ either: that it was impossible for him to make CHAP.
 “ more sail than he did; and, from the time the III.
 “ admiral bore down upon the Royal Philip, till
 “ the time he made the signal to leave off chace, 1743.
 “ the little wind, and the distances of the ships
 “ a-stern of him, put it out of his power to di-
 “ rect the three clean ships to go a-head of him;
 “ consequently before this time, when he neither
 “ knew, nor saw, that the admiral intended to
 “ attack the Spaniards, which, according to
 “ the line of battle, should have fallen to his
 “ share, it did not become him to make any
 “ alteration in the line, as by signal then abroad:
 “ but, had the admiral dropped a boat, with
 “ instructions to the ships of his own division,
 “ and the rear between them both, to have at-
 “ tacked the four sternmost ships of the Spanish
 “ squadron, they would have forced them a-
 “ stern, for the coming up of the rest of the
 “ rear.”

ADMIRAL MATTHEWS, not judging these
 answers satisfactory, drew up his replies to them;
 and, on the 4th of March, sent them to Vice-
 Admiral Lestock, desiring him to consider them
 well, and answer them as soon as he had so done.
 In these replies, Admiral Matthews acknowledg-
 ed, “ That the 13th article of the fighting in-
 “ structions, does not mention, that the signal
 “ for engaging the enemy, should be repeated,
 “ by the other flag officers; but he had reason
 “ to believe that every captain, in the vice ad-
 “ miral’s division, for want of his having re-
 “ peated it, as Rear-Admiral Rowley did, judg-
 “ ed he was to keep the line, and not to make
 “ sail a-head of the vice-admiral, in order to
 “ engage, which many of them could, and
 “ would have done, had they not expected his

PART.

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“ repeating the signal. The admiral affirmed,  
 “ that, had the vice-admiral not clapped upon a  
 “ wind with his whole division, by all the ac-  
 “ counts he had received, the vice-admiral, and  
 “ his division, though not all their sails abroad,  
 “ might, and must, have engaged the sternmost  
 “ ships of the Spaniards in one quarter of an  
 “ hour at least; by which means, the Royal  
 “ Philip could not have escaped the admiral, as  
 “ he was within musket-shot of her when all the  
 “ sternmost ships of the Spanish Squadron came  
 “ up, and tore the *Namur* to pieces: adding,  
 “ that the vice-admiral’s neglect of that piece of  
 “ service, was obvious and plain; and it was  
 “ certain, that all the captains, in his division,  
 “ judged they were to follow the vice-admiral,  
 “ notwithstanding the signal for engaging was  
 “ out; telling the vice-admiral, if he had been  
 “ pleased to have undeceived them on that head,  
 “ it would have been doing not only the duty  
 “ of an officer, but likewise a friendly part to  
 “ the admiral. The admiral expressed his con-  
 “ cern, to find that Vice-Admiral Lestock  
 “ judged it was necessary for the admiral to have  
 “ dropped a boat a-stern, to order, not only the  
 “ ships of his division a-stern of the *Namur*, but  
 “ likewise those of the rear, which were in the  
 “ line of battle a-head of the vice-admiral, to do  
 “ their duty: the situation the admiral was in at  
 “ that time, did not permit him to see that such  
 “ orders were necessary; but he desired to know,  
 “ why the vice-admiral did not do it, who was  
 “ at leisure, and tell him that such orders were  
 “ necessary? yet acted contradictory to his judg-  
 “ ment, by first shortening sail, and soon after  
 “ clapping upon a wind.” To these replies the  
 vice admiral, on the 16th of March, sent some  
 answers,

answers, by way of rejoinder, to Admiral Mat-CHAP.  
thews, the material purport of which were, III.  
“ That the repetition of the signal to engage  
“ by the rear-admiral, contrary to the tenor of 1743.  
“ the thirteenth article of the fighting instructi-  
“ ons, and all precedent from their predecessors,  
“ was no precedent to the vice-admiral; neither  
“ did reason oblige the vice-admiral to answer  
“ for the expectations of the captains of his di-  
“ vision, when they were so unjustly ground-  
“ and so inconsistent with discipline and service.  
“ Nor did he apprehend, that, as soon as the  
“ signal for battle appeared abroad, it was a  
“ justification, or an authority to an officer, to  
“ break the line, while the signal for the line of  
“ battle was kept out, and to engage in disorder  
“ and confusion. That he did the utmost to  
“ cut off the four sternmost ships of the Spanish  
“ Squadron; and, as his last recourse to bring  
“ on an engagement, where he had the prospect  
“ of diverting those ships from endeavouring to  
“ destroy the fire-ship, as well as to stop them  
“ from getting a-head to the assistance of the  
“ Royal Philip, he fired a broadside at the  
“ nearest ship, which was the sternmost; the  
“ shot of which did not all fall short of her, but  
“ she directly bore away, and made more sail,  
“ which was what the Neptune could not do.  
“ That he never broke the line of battle, nei-  
“ ther did he ever shorten sail, nor hale upon a  
“ wind, till the admiral haled down, the signal  
“ for battle, and the signal for the line of battle,  
“ and made the signal to give over chace; when  
“ it was his duty to shorten sail, and clap on a  
“ wind, in obedience to the commanding officer,  
“ who, he affirmed, made the signal before the  
“ four sternmost ships of the Spanish Squadron  
“ got



PART " got up to the Namur. That he was rather to

IV. " leeward with his division, than to windward

" of the line of battle ; therefore the captains of

1743. " his division, notwithstanding the signal for

" engaging was out, did their duty in following

" him. That he wished the admiral had had a

" little more patience, before he engaged ; and,

" since the sole dependence was on his division,

" to have waited until the line had been formed,

" and the vice-admiral had come up to close

" with him, agreeable to a message which the

" lieutenant of the Namur brought to the vice-

" admiral, in the morning of the day of battle :

" and if the admiral had deprived himself of his

" assistance, by his great impatience, in never

" suffering the vice-admiral to close with him,

" and did not give him more authority by pro-

" per signals, he was no ways answerable : that

" his endeavours to hinder the four sternmost

" ships of the Spanish Squadron from getting a-

" head, stopped them from getting near enough

" to attack the Namur, till long after the signal

" was made to leave off chase ; and when they

" did fire upon the admiral, it must have been

" at the close of day, when, soon after, all firing

" ceased : affirming, that it was neither in his

" power to prevent those ships getting a-head,

" either by disabling them, or obliging them to

" put afore it, unless the admiral had, instead

" of making the signal to give over chase, made

" the signal for the vice-admiral, and his divisi-

" on, to give chase ; and then, though he could

" not come up to disable them, yet he might

" have certainly kept them afore it, and the

" vice-admiral, with his division, been justified

" in breaking the line of battle, which signal

" was then abroad."

THE same day that Admiral Matthews received the rejoinder to his replies; he wrote a letter of suspension to the vice-admiral, acquainting him, that he should defer any further reply till his own conduct should be enquired into at a court martial: though he did not think the vice-admiral's answers, by any means, justified his conduct in the late action; and, for fear that the national service should suffer for the future, by his misconduct, the admiral judged it was his indispensable duty to order the vice-admiral home, where he would have time to prepare himself for his own defence, and likewise to make good the many neglects of duty he had charged the admiral with having been guilty of: requiring him forthwith to repair on board the Salisbury man of war, whose commander had orders to proceed directly with him to England; thereby suspending him from all further authority in the British fleet, till the royal pleasure should be known.

ACCORDINGLY Vice-Admiral Lestock immediately struck his flag, and set sail, on board the Salisbury from Mahon, on the 26th of March, and arrived at Spithead, on the 24th of May; where the ship was obliged to perform quarantine, which retarded the journey of the vice-admiral to London, much longer than was suitable to his circumstances: because he apprehended, as most of mankind would conclude that Admiral Matthews had good reasons for so extraordinary a proceeding, the odium of the failure of the British fleet would fall upon the vice-admiral, and that he should be universally condemned; appearing in the sight of the world as a delinquent, deprived of his authority, and sent home in an ignominious manner, full in the eyes of the public, at a conjuncture, when it became

PART became more the immediate duty of every offi-

IV. cer to exert himself and sacrifice his life in the

support of the royal commands, much more a

1743. flag officer of his rank and length of service : nor indeed were these apprehensions ill grounded ; for the British nation was highly irritated at this disgrace of their naval arms ; and were almost unanimously of opinion that the whole misconduct was entirely owing to the behaviour of Vice-Admiral Lestock : because the bravery of Admiral Matthews was too evident to incur the least censure, and the conduct and character of Rear-Admiral Rowley was allowed, by all, to be without blame, accusation, or suspicion.

GREAT was the discontent, and loud were the clamours through the British nation, to hear of so lamentable a depravity in their naval commanders : for it was not apparent how a superior force could be defeated, but by some degree of misconduct ; how it could fail of victory, but by surprize, for want of intelligence ; by disorder for want of knowledge ; or by inactivity for want of valour ; or, with the most atrocious of all crimes, by artifice, for want of fidelity. Though the British nation were sensible, that the confederate fleet, in the triumph of their success, had nothing to boast but of their good fortune in escaping destruction : yet it was suspected, by the more intelligent part of the kingdom, that nothing was more natural than that the French and Spaniards might be incited to insult the British subjects on the ocean, and consider themselves as qualified to dispute with them that empire of which the English had been so long persuaded to believe themselves possessed without a rival : that they might attack the British fleets of trade, or make descents upon their

their colonies; that they might form schemes of CHAP. III. confining them to their own island, and of engrossing the continent; that they might then think themselves secure of universal success, since they had added to their power at land, which was confessedly great, such a naval force, as, if it was not able to obtain victories, had yet been found sufficient for defence; and which, though it could not be able to invade Britain, might at least secure themselves from insult, and oppose the utmost force that England could bring against them. Such constructions were rationally founded, because, in all cases, it will be discovered that those who have performed more than they expected, please themselves with a high opinion of their own abilities, and are ready to engage in undertakings, of which, before their late success, they would perhaps have trembled at the thought. Though, that the enemies of Britain should form false ideas of their own strength, might appear, at the first view, of no great importance; but if it be considered how much courage depends upon hope, and how much in war may be effected by courage, it will be found that whatever raises the hope of enemies, contributes to make them more formidable; and that since the events of war are, as the present occasion sufficiently demonstrated, such as cannot be regularly predicted from any consideration of the strength of the contending powers, every attempt against the inhabitants of Britain produced some degree of danger; and therefore they might justly never think themselves secure, till their reputation, on the sea, was such, as that no nation might dare to fit out a fleet against them. The re-establishment of their naval reputation, was therefore very judiciously recommended, in order to make the most exact and

1743.

**PART** solemn scrutiny, into the conduct of the com-

**IV.** manders and officers in the Mediterranean engagement, to know to whom the miscarriage of  
 1743. the fleet might justly be imputed; and that, if

any particular persons had failed in the performance of their duty, they might not be permitted to infect others by an example of impunity, but might, though they could not repair the loss of national honour, or power, by their sufferings, at least, be made to give a proof, that none should neglect their charge without incurring danger; and that therefore cowardice, the greatest crime that can be committed against the public, should best consult its own security, by encountering rather the opposition of the foe, than the censure and discontent of the nation; and shew them, by such an enquiry, how the public expects that those men should behave, who are intrusted, in a battle, with the honour, the welfare, and the commerce of their country; shew them with what caution commanders ought to direct, and to convince them with what punctuality obedience ought to be paid.

**VICE-ADMIRAL LESTOCK** daily found the indignation of the people against him: this made him extremely solicitous, with the Duke of Newcastle, for procuring a trial: his grace having laid his letters and information before his majesty, the affair was referred, in July, to the lords of the admiralty, for their opinion; who, soon after, sent their judgment to his majesty: but it was the 29th of August before the vice-admiral could obtain his majesty's order to the lords of the admiralty, signifying his pleasure to bring him, with all possible expedition, to his trial; of which he was immediately informed by the secretary of the admiralty, and that their lordships intended to have a court martial held in England  
 for

for that purpose as soon as Admiral Matthews<sup>CHAP.</sup> and Vice-Admiral Lestock should be ready for III. it. When the vice-admiral was acquainted with the royal result, he sent a list, to the lords of the admiralty, of such witnesses as he thought proper to be sent for, from the Mediterranean, to disprove the accusation laid against him by Admiral Matthews in his queries and replies, which had been transmitted to the ministry, by way of charge, against the vice-admiral. 1743.

ADMIRAL MATTHEWS resigned his command to Admiral Rowley, on the 22d of September, N. S. off Genoa; and repaired to England, by land; arriving in London on the 19th of September, O. S. Immediately on his arrival, he was acquainted, by the secretary of the admiralty, with the orders their lordships had received from his majesty, for enquiring into the conduct of Vice-Admiral Lestock, at a court martial; and that, therefore, they desired to know the particulars of what the admiral had to charge against him; and what evidence he desired might be brought to support the said charge: to which Admiral Matthews sent an answer, on the 27th of November, signifying, that he could not find his papers to know the names of some of his necessary evidences till two days before; but that his charge, against the vice-admiral, was contained in the queries, with the addition of one more article, which was, "That the vice-admiral was guilty of a most scandalous breach of trust, by sending his own captain to Capt. Purvis, at that time under confinement, in order to be tried at a court martial, for misbehaviour in the time of service, with instructions for Capt. Purvis how to conduct himself at the court martial, and that he would do him no harm."

PART This was immediately communicated to Vice-

IV. Admiral Lestock, who expressed a great deal of reluctance against a trial before the arrival of a  
 1743. numerous body of witnesses from the Mediterranean ; informing the lords of the admiralty, that his own preservation would not admit of a court martial being held, notwithstanding a great number of witnesses, whom he had applied for to be retained at home, were then in England, until the arrival of a considerable number of more persons, from the fleet in the Mediterranean, whom he had demanded to be produced as evidences for him at his trial : and this was so long delayed, that, on the change of the ministry, a parliamentary enquiry was thought proper to be undertaken, to satisfy the nation, and to give such a censure, on those as should appear to be offenders, as might leave the public no room to suspect that military crimes were indulged by connivance, or national misfortunes regarded with indifference ; such a censure as might afford, to succeeding ages, an instance of justice and inflexibility ; and might take from all future offenders the hopes of impunity.

ACCORDINGLY, in March following, a motion was made, in the house of commons, “ That  
 “ they would, in a grand committee of the whole  
 “ house, enquire into the cause of the miscarriage  
 “ of the attack made, in the Mediterranean,  
 “ on the joint fleets of Spain and France, by  
 “ the British fleet, which was superior in number  
 “ of ships to them both.” Some objections were made, at first, by the ministry, to the proposal ; particularly that the house was not sufficiently acquainted with naval affairs to pass any judgment, the miscarriage being more properly cognizable at a court martial of naval officers, to be held  
 by

by his majesty's appointment, whose authority CHAP. III.  
might seem to be invaded by such enquiry: but  
precedents being cited to the contrary, when the  
question was put, it was carried without a division, 1743.  
and Mr Cornwall, brother to the late much la-  
mented commander of the Marlborough, was ap-  
pointed chairman of the committee.

As this was so important an affair, in which, not only the reputation of the British arms was concerned, but also the characters of two eminent commanders; the house was determined to proceed with all the solemnity suitable to so great an occasion: for, at this time, Vice-Admiral Lestock had the address to bring a mutual accusation against the admiral; so that no less a charge than treachery on the one side, and rashness of the other, was depending before the representative body of the nation, who had thought the cause worthy of their attention. Accordingly they sat several days upon the affair, had all the letters which had passed between the admirals, the orders from the board of admiralty, the sailing and fighting instructions, with other necessary papers laid before them: and, on the 22d of March, Vice-Admiral Lestock, and a great number of sea officers, attended the house for examination; which was ordered for tuesdays and thursdays. Near thirty officers, of the fleet, and a great number of seamen, were examined in a course of evidence; the house heard the charges and defences, prolonged by intricate disquisitions and entangled with innumerable circumstances, either of greater or less importance; they received the proofs of all the facts which had in any degree been thought worthy of their consideration; and the whole examination was conducted with the impartiality of an assembly intent  
upon



**PART** upon nothing but the discovery of truth, and

**IV.** with the patience of men, to whom nothing could seem tedious that promoted the safety or  
 1743. honour of their country: all private considerations had been thrown aside as unworthy of regard to this great question; friendship and enmity equally subsided, and every passion had been seen to give way to the love of truth and the desire of justice. The enquiry being finished and the evidence closed, the vice-admiral, who had been permitted to hear it, was heard at the bar in his own defence; and the chief admiral, in his place, being a member of the house.

**VICE-ADMIRAL LESTOCK** made the same defence as he had formerly done by his answers and rejoinder, to the queries and replication of Admiral Matthews; depending on his adherence to discipline, to invalidate the charge, and clear his integrity. He also observed, it had been insinuated, that he held a correspondence with the enemy, a rumour that was never laid to his charge by Admiral Matthews, however his enemies might have propagated this report against him for want of sufficient matter: but this was so ridiculous in itself, that he only thought proper to say, he was never on shore but once, while the fleet lay at Hieres, and that was with the leave of Admiral Matthews, to meet a French officer, who had taken him a prisoner in the late war, and treated him nobly; when Admiral Rowley and Capt. Martin bore him company, all the time they conversed together: and after remarking on the evidence, in vindication of his own conduct, he attributed the whole blame of this unsuccessful engagement, to the impatience, temerity, and imprudence of Admiral Matthews; who by hastily fighting, at such a disadvantage, as he affirmed,

affirmed, endangered the whole fleet intrusted **CHAP.**  
to his command; and afterwards, by a quite **III.**  
contrary conduct, suffered the confederate squa-  
drons to escape by calling the vice-admiral off **1743.**  
the chase.

AFTER the whole examination had been concluded, a motion was made, on the 10th of March, by George Greenville, Esq; and, after some debate, the house came to the following resolutions:

“ THAT the British fleet, at the time of the  
“ engagement, was superior in force to the com-  
“ bined fleets of France and Spain.

“ THAT the miscarriage, in that action, re-  
“ flected on the honour of his majesty's arms,  
“ and was highly detrimental to the common  
“ cause, and to the interest of the British  
“ nation.

“ THAT there was reason to apprehend, from  
“ the evidence laid before the committee, that  
“ this miscarriage was owing to a misconduct and  
“ misbehaviour in some of the commanders,  
“ and officers, of the British fleet.”

THESE resolutions being admitted as motives to a more exact and severe enquiry, it was proposed that an act might pass, to constitute a special court for trying the delinquents, composed of a high admiral, some lords, civilians, and eminent lawyers, besides sea officers; which was opposed by General Oglethorpe, and others, as unconstitutional, and trying a man not only by such as were not his peers, but by incompetent judges. A second proposition was therefore made, to address his majesty to order a court martial to be held, that this affair might be, at length, completely examined by those whose employments enabled them to judge of military conduct;

PART conduct ; that the British reputation might be  
 IV. rescued from utter extinction, by a timely re-  
 { 1743. vival of the discipline of the navy, and an estab-  
 lishment of that subordination, without which  
 forces are cumbrous multitudes, and strength serves  
 only for its own destruction : this appearing to be  
 a method the most easy and efficacious ; and since,  
 by referring the affair to a court martial, it was,  
 in effect, submitting it to his majesty, the proper  
 supreme judge of military behaviour ; it was also  
 resolved,

“ To address his majesty, that he would be  
 “ graciously pleased, to give directions, that  
 “ courts martial might be held, in the most  
 “ speedy and solemn manner, to enquire into the  
 “ conduct of Admiral Matthews, Vice-Admiral  
 “ Lestock, Capt. Burriſh, Capt. Richard Norris,  
 “ Capt. Williams, Capt. Ambrose, Capt. Frog-  
 “ more, and Capt. Dilk ; in, and relating to, the  
 “ late engagement, between his majesty’s fleet,  
 “ and the combined fleets of France and Spain, off  
 “ Toulon, as also of the lieutenants his of majesty’s  
 “ ship the Dorsetshire then aboard, and of all  
 “ other officers, who were, or should be, charg-  
 “ ed with any misconduct in that action, and  
 “ to try them for the same : and that his majesty  
 “ would be pleased to appoint a proper person,  
 “ or persons, to collect all the evidence neces-  
 “ sary for the trials of the said several command-  
 “ ers and officers, and to prosecute them effect-  
 “ ually ; in order to bring those to condign  
 “ punishment, through whose misconduct, it  
 “ should be found, that such discredit had been  
 “ brought upon his majesty’s arms, the honour  
 “ of the nation sacrificed, and such an opportu-  
 “ nity lost of doing the most important service  
 “ to the common cause.”

ON the 18th of April, the house of commons, CHAP. III.  
with their speaker, waited on, and presented this address to his majesty; who answered them,

“ That he would give proper orders for the speedy and effectual holding of courts martial, according to their desire. That he was sensible how much depended upon preserving an exact discipline in the fleet, and of the necessity there was of bringing to justice, such as had failed in their duty, on this important occasion.” 1743.

ACCORDINGLY his majesty directed the lords of the admiralty to appoint the proper officers for holding the courts martial, on this occasion; which was opened on the 23d of September, on board his majesty's ship the London, at Chatham, consisting of the following members, Sir Chaloner Ogle, president, Rear-Admiral Main, Commodore Smith; the Captains, Parry, Windham, Chambers, Rentone, Allen, Franclyn, Sir William Hewitt, Coleby, Layton, Hamer, Sir Charles Malloy, Geary, Callis, Rodney, Eriskine, Pittman, Elliot, Spragg, Swanton, Stewart, and Orme. The court was afterwards removed to Deptford; and, on the 9th of October, passed sentence on Capt. Burrish, Capt. Williams, and Capt. Ambrose: Capt. Burrish was declared guilty of part of the charge, against him, as he did not do his utmost to bear down upon, fight, or engage with the enemy in his station; and, by his not doing so, did not give proper assistance to the Marlborough, till after he bore down, in consequence of a message from the admiral: for which failures of his duty, the court unanimously adjudged him, to be cashiered, and for ever rendered incapable of being an officer in his majesty's navy. The court agreed, that Capt. Wil-

PART liams failed in his duty, by not being in a line  
IV. with the admiral, and by continuing to wind-

ward of the line during the greatest part of the  
1743. engagement, and not within a distance to do  
proper execution, during the greatest part of the  
time he was engaged : but, in regard to his long  
services, and good character in the navy, as his  
eye-sight was very defective, and as his expressions  
and behaviour manifested an eagerness to  
have engaged the enemy more vigorously, had  
he been properly seconded ; and for other favourable  
reasons, the court were unanimously of opinion,  
that all these considerations weighed greatly in  
mitigation of the punishment that might be  
otherwise due ; and therefore only adjudged him  
to be unfit to be employed any more in his  
majesty's service at sea ; but recommended him,  
to the lords of the admiralty, to be continued upon  
the half pay, according to his seniority. Capt.  
Ambrose was declared, to have had it in his  
power to have engaged closer than he did : but,  
in regard he had both before, and since, the  
action, borne the character of a vigilant and  
diligent officer ; and that his failure in the action  
seemed to have arisen from a mistake in judgment,  
the court only adjudged him to be cashiered  
from serving in the royal navy, during his  
majesty's pleasure, and to be mulcted one year's  
personal pay, to be applied to the use of the  
chest at Chatham.

SIR CHALONER OGLE, having withdrawn  
from the court, Admiral Mayne sat as president,  
on the trials of Admiral Matthews and Vice-  
Admiral Lestock, assisted by Rear-Admiral  
Bynge, and fourteen other members ; who, on  
the 3d of June, 1746, passed sentence on the  
vice-admiral, declaring him to be honourably  
acquitted,

acquitted, against the whole, and every part, of CHAP. the charge brought against him.

III.

THE trial of Admiral Matthews took up a considerable time: and the following were the articles of the charge against him, and his answers to the several charges which were exhibited by Vice-Admiral Lestock. 1743.

I. THAT during the time the combined fleets of France and Spain continued in view, from the 8th to the 13th of February, 1743, he did not summon a council of war, contrary to the constant practice, and in breach of his duty.

Ans. THAT the holding, or not holding, councils of war, is left to the discretion of the commander in chief, and not required by any rule or order in the navy.

II. THAT he did not appoint proper night signals, particularly, that on the night of the 10th of February, 1743, no signal was appointed to bring to, by which the windward-most ships would have brought to first; or to keep the line, although the British fleet was bearing down on the enemy.

Ans. THAT he made and appointed all the signals which he had ever received from the flags he had served under; and, that a signal, by which the windward-most ships would have brought to first, would not have been necessary, if Vice-Admiral Lestock, and his division, had been in a line a-breast, as they ought to have been, because there would have been no ship for him to run foul on.

III. THAT in the morning of the 11th, he sailed away with the center of the fleet, although the divisions of the vice and rear admirals, were to the windward several miles, and the former

T t t 2

a-stern;

**PART** a-stern; by which the said divisions had not time

**IV.** to come up and close the order of battle; and  
 { the distance between them and the center was  
 1743. increased, the latter still bearing down to the  
 enemy, though the admiral sent a message to  
 Vice-Admiral Lestock, acquainting him that he  
 would lie by.

**Ans.** **ACKNOWLEDGES** that Vice-Admiral  
 Lestock's division was, on the morning of the  
 11th, six miles to windward, and Rear-Admi-  
 ral Rowley's a little to windward and a-head:  
 declares, he did not begin to sail till the vice-  
 admiral was under sail also; and that he did not  
 make such way as to increase the distance be-  
 tween them, but often yawed the ship to and  
 fro, to give him time to come up; and absolute-  
 ly denies that he sent the message mentioned in  
 the charge..

**IV.** **THAT** on the morning of the 11th of  
 of February, the fleet not being formed in order  
 of battle, pursuant to the signal, but the center  
 being so separate from the two other divisions,  
 as above, he made the signal to engage, afford-  
 ing thereby an opportunity to the enemy of draw-  
 ing the fleet to join battle at a disadvantage, by  
 stretching to the southward, and gaining the  
 wind.

**Ans.** **ADMITS** he made the signal to engage,  
 as set forth in the charge; but alledges that the  
 line not being formed, was caused by Vice-Ad-  
 miral Lestock's behaviour, who did not give  
 orders to his captains to keep station over night,  
 nor continue sail the next morning; and that  
 he could not delay the signal to engage, without  
 suffering the enemy to elude an engagement, the  
 French being then edging away, and the Spani-  
 ards crowding to join them,

**V.** and

V. and VI. THAT he attacked the enemy, CHAP. III.  
contrary to the 19th article of the fighting instructions, irregularly, and to great disadvantage.

1743.

Ans. THAT he conformed to this article as long as it was in his power, and that he was at length necessitated either to depart from it, or not to engage at all, by Vice-Admiral Lestock's ill conduct; and that it appeared to him absolutely necessary to engage as he could, in hopes to weaken the enemy before they were joined by the Breſt Squadron, then hourly expected, which would greatly have endangered the British navy; and that this junction was thereby effectually prevented.

VII. THAT after the engagement was begun, he deserted the Marlborough when she was pressed by the enemy; and after she was disabled, sent no ship to her assistance, which it was in his power to have done, keeping back from the fight with his whole division, contrary to duty.

Ans. THAT his ship being disabled, he judged it proper to put himself in a condition to make sail a-head, and leave the seven sail of Spanish ships to Vice-Admiral Lestock's division, which he insists he was at liberty to do, the admiral commanding in chief not being tied down to any particular station. That he did not desert the Marlborough, till he was in danger of her coming on board of him, which, considering the swell, might have been fatal to them both; and that he then ordered the Dorsetshire to assist her, who accordingly engaged the Royal Philip till she bore away; and that he afterwards gave the Marlborough such assistance as he could, though she did not make proper signals of distress.

VIII.



PART

VIII. THAT no more than five of the Spanish

IV. ships engaged within gun-shot, three of which were disabled by the Norfolk, Berwick, and

1743. Marlborough; and that although he had it in his power so to have disposed of the rest of his fleet, as utterly to have destroyed the said five ships; yet he suffered four of them to escape, by withdrawing from the engagement with fourteen ships under his command: and that he did not direct them to join in battle, nor did he punish those captains who failed in their duty, or appoint others in their room.

Ans. DENIES that no more than five of the Spanish ships engaged, and insists there were ten; says, he cannot understand the assertion in the charge, that he might have disposed the ships of his division, so as to have destroyed the said five ships; but blames Vice-Admiral Lestock for not stopping the four which run away; and absolutely denies that he connived at any breach of duty in the captains.

IX. THAT he sent the fire-ship to burn the Royal Philip, without allowing the captain sufficient time to prime, or covering or conducting her while she performed that service, by which neglect the fire-ship was lost, without damage to the enemy.

Ans. DENIES the whole charge, for that he himself gave preparatory orders to the captain of the fire-ship, at nine in the morning, and sent orders to Capt. Burrish to cover her; but that the captain of the fire-ship neglected his signals, and blew up too soon.

X. THAT soon after the fire-ship blew up, he caused the signal for the line of battle to be hauled down, and the signal to give over chace to be hoisted; leaving a sixty-gun ship, which had  
struck

struck to the Berwick, to be retaken, with twenty of her men, and one of the lieutenants on board; that he plied to windward the whole night of the 11th, to avoid the enemy, without sending cruisers to observe the motions of their fleet, so that in the morning of the 12th, he was five or six leagues to windward of it.

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III.

1743.

Ans. THAT he was obliged to wear, to prevent putting the fleet into confusion, and to make the signal for leaving off chace, to prevent a separation of the fleet: that the Poder's being retaken was inevitable, as she was totally disabled, and there was neither time nor wind to take her in tow; nor did he hear that the said ship had been taken, till the next morning: that he stood to the northward, to keep between the enemy and Toulon; and denies that he plied to windward to avoid the enemy; and alledges, that he could not send out cruisers, without exposing them to be taken, the confederate ships being clean, and his own foul.

XI. ON the 12th, being in pursuit of the confederate fleet, which retreated not in order of battle; and perceiving the Spanish squadron a-head, and to leeward of their confederates, four of them, one being the Royal Philip, appearing to be disabled, and the latter in tow, the night being moon-light, the weather favourable, and the British fleet having the weather-gage, and being able to have kept in sight of the enemy, by making more sail, as they appeared less and less perceptible, or shortening sail as the whole fleet came up, he nevertheless brought to, with the whole fleet under his command, and suffered the enemy, then flying, to escape.

Ans.

PART

IV.

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Ans. ACKNOWLEDGES that during the chase, on the 12th, most of the Spanish ships were to leeward of the French, and that they did not appear to be in a regular line; that the Spanish admiral was in tow, and the Poder disabled; but denies there were any more in that condition: admits that he gave over chase; but alledges, as his reasons for so doing, that, on his sending out a ship of his squadron, the French bore away, and stood for the Spaniards, who were then four leagues from him; that several of his own ships were disabled, all of them foul, that he gained little on the enemy the whole day, and that he thought it better, in these circumstances, to bring to, than to suffer himself to be drawn down the Streights, and abandon the coast of Italy, which he had orders to preserve, next to the destruction of the confederate fleet, and against which there was a formidable embarkation intended by France and Spain, of which he had received advice from the British minister at Paris, and otherwise.

XII. THAT as the British fleet drew near to the enemy on the 12th, they disabled the sixty gun ship which had been taken by the Berwick, and retaken by the French, upon which he sent Capt. Norris to burn her, whereas she might have been preserved for the king's use, by sending a frigate with her to Minorca, especially as she had many valuable stores on board, and her fore and mizen masts standing.

Ans. ADMITS that though he might have saved this ship, yet he burnt her; but denies it to have been a breach of duty, though it was a sacrifice of his private interest.

XIII. THAT he gave the signal for giving over chase on the 13th, when Vice-Admiral Leitch  
tock

rock had given the signal for seeing twenty sail of the enemy, and at the same time was gaining on them very fast, having the weather-gage and a fresh gale, which would have obliged the enemy to fight, or have given up their lame ships.

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Ans. ADMITS the signal for several ships, but the number does not remember; and that Vice-Admiral Lestock might gain upon them: but affirms that no person in his ship could see them, even from his mast-head; though if they had, he would not have pursued them, for the reasons above: and declares that, by this conduct, he saved Italy, which was of more importance to the common cause than the taking the Royal Philip, which was all that could be expected from continuing the chase.

XIV and XV. THAT he had been guilty of many breaches of duty, and was the principal cause of the miscarriage of the fleet.

Ans. THAT he is not conscious to any such breaches of duty, and hopes to prove, by his witnesses, that he was not the principal cause of such miscarriage.

A GREAT number of witnesses were examined, both in support of the charge, and in vindication of the admiral: but, the court having several adjournments, it was the 22d of September 1746, before sentence was pronounced; when Admiral Mathews was adjudged, incapable of serving in the royal navy for the future: at the same time the admiral desired a copy of the minutes of the court, but was referred to the lords of the admiralty.

SUCH a sentence was entirely contradictory to the expectations of the public: for, notwithstanding the judgment of the court, the nation could not be led into a persuasion, that the vice-admiral ought

PART to be exculpated for not fighting, and the chief admiral to be punished for fighting. The hand of severity seemed too rigorously held up; for the general part of the nation, who by this time were well acquainted with, and were competent judges of the affair, conceived there was not the least reason to doubt either the honesty or courage of Admiral Mathews; with regard to his fidelity no suspicion had been started; and his bravery seemed too self-evident to stand in need of any proof or vindication.

IV. 1743. The hand of severity seemed too rigorously held up; for the general part of the nation, who by this time were well acquainted with, and were competent judges of the affair, conceived there was not the least reason to doubt either the honesty or courage of Admiral Mathews; with regard to his fidelity no suspicion had been started; and his bravery seemed too self-evident to stand in need of any proof or vindication.

If the soul of this commander was superior to such an unexpected reverse of honour and reputation, not the great Marcellus, the noble exile of Rome, merited more approbation for a glorious instance of fortitude. For a man, warm with the love of his country, and governed by the strictest rules of honour, and integrity; sent out against the public enemies; exposed to all the hazards and fatigues of war; and, after having endured all the sollicitudes of his high trust, all the disturbance of incessant vigilance, and all the danger of hostile opposition; at his return to that country, which he had so zealously served, to find his bravery involved in a general censure with cowardice in some, and negligence in others, for a miscarriage which he, with his utmost care, endeavoured to prevent, must have been one of the most pungent strokes that can afflict the heart of man; and must be such a mortification to the honest mind, as required all the consolation of innocence, and force of patience, to sustain, till time should discover the faithful and innocent, from the treacherous and criminal.

If the sentence pronounced against Admiral Mathews was uninfluenced, candid, and impartial, how greatly was the world deceived? never

was

was a trial where impartiality and justice were of CHAP. III.  
so great an importance to the nation ; but though  
the integrity of the judges might be too pure to  
be sullied by the breath of calumny, the opinion 1743.  
was very general and prevalent, that the conduct  
of Admiral Mathews, instead of stigmatizing  
him in the eye of the world, with a sentence of  
so much censure and atrocity, entitled him to  
the highest honours, and the most liberal re-  
wards.

WHY this affair took up so much time and  
deliberation is very evident. What could require  
more solemnity than a trial of so important a  
nature? On this occasion, it was impossible to  
reflect a moment, without recollecting that the  
chief honour, and force, of Great Britain, is  
her naval strength ; that all the wealth, by which  
she was enabled to set the powers of the continent  
at defiance, upon the borders of their own  
Empires, is the effect of her trade : that her trade,  
only, enabled her to hire armies, to influence  
nations, and to regulate the disposal of kingdoms:  
and that this trade could only be supported by  
a naval power, superior to that of the people,  
who had so long endeavoured to rival her ; and  
who, since the produce of their soil, and the habits  
of the inhabitants gave them many advantages,  
which the natives of Britain were hindered, either  
by nature, or their own insurmountable reluc-  
tance, from obtaining, must in time engross the  
commerce of the world, if they were not restrain-  
ed by the superiority of the British strength.  
Without commerce what wealth can circulate  
in the British dominions? and without wealth what  
alliances can be formed? none : a naval power,  
and an extended trade, reciprocally produce each  
other : and if France can once make herself be-  
lieve

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PART lieve her naval armaments sufficiently formidable

IV. to repel the British fleet, she would attempt to  
 ~~~~~ dispute the dominion of the sea ; she would think  
 1743. of nothing but filling all the neighbouring coun-
 tries with blood and desolation ; and, in a short
 time, would endeavour to obtain the means of
 executing her schemes, by possessing herself of
 that wealth, by which she finds conquests so easily
 made, which produces triumphs without danger,
 and extends dominion without blood-shed : and, as
 this wealth flows only through the channels of
 trade, if France could accomplish the destruction of,
 that bulwark of the liberties of Europe, the na-
 val force of Britain, she would not only divert
 the rivulets, but seize the fountain, and establish
 her power beyond the possibility of opposition,
 by engrossing, that, which alone can furnish the
 means of opposing her, the commerce of the
 British navigation. Therefore it was evident,
 that it ought to be the first, and greatest, politi-
 cal care of the British nation, to preserve their
 naval honour unimpaired ; and to recover any
 losses, which, by weakness, accident, or corrup-
 tion, they might, at any time, suffer upon that
 element, which they had for some ages been
 almost allowed to appropriate ; and on which
 their power, and their bravery, have been so
 often signalized. So that the consequences of
 such an enquiry extended to the more essential
 parts of the happiness of the British nation, and in-
 fluenced their independence, their properties, and
 their lives ; for if their naval honour is debased,
 their trade must decay ; and then, who can say
 how long they shall be suffered to enjoy their laws,
 or their liberties, their estates or their religion ?

THE END of the SECOND VOLUME.



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